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FOUR YEARS

AT THE

COURT OF HENRY VIII.

SELECTION OF DESPATCHES

WRITTEN BY THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR,

SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN,

AND ADDRESSED TO THE SIGNORY OF VENICE,

JANUARY 12TH 1515, TO JULY 26TH 1519.

TRANSLATED BY RAWDON BROWN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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DESPATCHES

OF

SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN.

London, November 13, 1516.

The Cardinal of Sion departed on the 8th, the King having made him a handsome present, worth, I hear, 3,000 ducats; from the Cardinal of York he also received a gift estimated at 1,000: and he is going to the Catholic King, with whom he will possibly remain a fortnight, to make arrangements for carrying their new treaty into effect.

Not having visited Cardinal Wolsey previously, owing to his constant occupation, I went to-day to his right reverend lordship, who had me conducted to a certain orchard at a short distance from his dwelling, where I found him, and being thus both of us on horseback, his lordship asked me whether I had any news: I told him I had none other than about the Turkish affairs, and that I was come to pay my respects to him, in the first place, having been many days away from his right reverend lordship, and, secondly, to impart to him said news, which had been sent me by the

most noble Badoer from France. He listened attentively, and having stated to him the extreme importance of these movements, and the haughty nature of the great Turk, who pants for glory and empire more than any other potentate, and how intent he is on military matters and well skilled therein, I told his right reverend lordship that he was greatly to be feared, should he make peace with the Soldan and the Sophy, or prove victorious in the present expedition; and that I perceived the affairs of Christendom to be in manifest peril, and I alluded, moreover, to the Turkish armada, and all the other forces of the Ottoman empire, expatiating thereon by so much the more, as it seemed to me expedient for the matters now negotiating in Christendom.

The Cardinal answered that he regretted this news, by reason of the peril which threatened the Christian religion, and that his most serene King, clearly perceiving this peril, had prescribed an opportune remedy for the ills of Christendom, by establishing friendship and confederacy with his Holiness, the Emperor, his Catholic Highness, and the Switzers, for the defence of the common states, all said potentates being bound conjointly to oppose with all their might and main whoever might attack them or their territories; and should those now molesting them abstain from hostilities, his lordship said he doubted not but that a general expedition might be made against the infidels. An intimation, consequently, will be made to them in the name of the whole league, charging them within one month to make peace, as otherwise open war will be declared against them by all the potentates aforesaid. This, he said, was a matter which concerned your Highness, who ought to ponder well your interests, and not run the risk, for Verona alone, of entering on so fierce a war, and exposing yourself to the risk of losing the whole of your territory; and he declared to me there was no doubt

soever but that if, after the term assigned, your Excellency should persist in besieging Verona, all said princes will wage war both against the most Christian King and your Excellency, or against that one of the two who shall choose to persist in said siege; and not merely by land, but moreover by sea, this league having determined to act in such wise that all be compelled to rest satisfied with their own.

I thought fit to answer briefly, it seeming to me that my words could avail but little against the decision already formed, and told him that I, in the first place, thanked his right reverend lordship for so unreserved a communication, and that were it intended, as stated, that all should remain satisfied with their own, every difficulty would vanish at once, since I entertained no doubt but that, in like manner as the most Christian King, so would your Sublimity also become a party to the general peace, provided all had their own; but that I clearly perceived that this storm had been raised against your Excellency for the sake of depriving you of the city of Verona, which had been yours, and is now occupied by the Emperor: a very astounding fact, that a confederacy should be formed against the legitimate and ancient possessors of that city, and in defence of its present occupants; to which announcement I said I could give him no positive reply, as it required an answer from your Highness, adding, that I could not comprehend the cause of so much stress being laid on the affairs of Verona, unless it were for the gratification of the Emperor, who aimed but at the ruin of your Excellency.

His lordship rejoined that there was "no doubt but that the peace made between the Kings of France and Spain would not last, as his Catholic Highness will not delay marrying until the French princess be *matura viro*, and in case he form any other connection, said King of France will use every endeavour to

deprive him of the kingdom of Naples; and were the city of Verona in your hands, it might prove very convenient for France in aid of such an enterprise, and in like manner it will suit us extremely that it should be held by the Emperor."

I told him that in that case Verona was indeed of extreme importance to your Highness, but could not prove of any great convenience in any case, either to the most Christian King, or to the Emperor, since a small force would not enter Italy even with the support of Verona, whereas a large army would force its way unaided in any direction, nor of this could there be any doubt. To this he replied,

"In short, Domine Orator, we do not choose to endure this obstacle, and I have thought fit to make this announcement to you as a notification, that should the King of France and yourself desist from the attack on Verona, we shall be all united, and might make a general expedition against the Turks: should neither one or the other, indeed, choose to desist, we shall do our utmost for the annihilation and ruin of the perverse; we will forbid all their subjects dwelling or trading in any of the territories of the confederates aforesaid, and not merely merchants, but every other description of persons; with our fleets, moreover, we will prevent their navigation, in such wise that in addition to the great cost incurred by you in the war, you will be deprived of all future emolument, and these will be the first steps taken before commencing hostilities; and even had you recovered Verona, we should take it from you; so ponder well your interests, and for the love of God cease any longer to molest the Emperor and his confederates, and let all be content with their own, for the avoidance of so dire a catastrophe."

Perceiving this to be his bent, and as I did not think I could prevail against so firm a resolve, I deemed it well not to reply, to avoid exasperating him, and, on the contrary, I

spoke him very fair, using many very bland expressions, as I always endeavour to do, telling him I would write to your Sublimity, who I imagined would form a deliberate decision as inspired by the Almighty, who will not fail you, as he never has done.[1]

[1] There can be no doubt but that the *bruolo*, or paddock, or park, in which the Venetian ambassador rode and talked on the 13th of November, 1516, with Cardinal Wolsey, was that of Westminster, which probably changed its name when the court went to reside at St. James's; certain is it that in the year 1618, the park still bore the name of Westminster, its keeper receiving a salary of 12*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, whilst fruit and flower gardens were alone attached to the house at St. James's.

Somewhere or other Lamartine wrote "*que les lieux ont leur âmes:*" the soul of the park at Westminster seems to have borne inveterate ill will towards the Republic of Venice; for nearly a century and a half after the unpleasant communications made there to the Venetian ambassador by Cardinal Wolsey, harsh language was addressed on the same spot to a Venetian secretary, by the master of the ceremonies of the Commonwealth of England. In the spring of the year 1652, the Republic of Venice determined on sending an agent to the Commonwealth, without, however, formally acknowledging the Council of State: the person intrusted with this errand was a secretary named Lorenzo Paulucci, who, immediately on arriving in London, endeavoured to have an interview with the master of the ceremonies, Sir Oliver Fleming, who made an appointment with him in what he styles *the palace park* (which proves that the park was always considered an appurtenance to the royal residence, that it bore the name of Westminster in 1516, of Whitehall at a later period, then of St. James's and ought now to be called Buckingham) for 10 A.M. on the 30th of April (new style) A.D. 1652. Fleming, immediately on meeting the secretary, asked for his credentials, and on hearing that he had none, said harsher things to him than those uttered by Cardinal Wolsey to the ambassador; he abused the Signory for tolerating the presence in Venice of Tom Killigrew, the envoy of Charles II., and even hinted at treating the secretary as a spy, addressing him thus:—

"You then are come for levies of troops and to charter vessels? I believe it, but your mission possibly moreover resembles that of an individual who arrived here lately from France to see how the land lay, to investigate and to observe; and I will here tell you by way of a topic what befell him: he was taken up as a spy, and, although sick, or pretending so to be, he was forcibly expelled this territory." This conversation took place about one year before Oliver Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament, and the threats against the Signory of Venice, also uttered in the park at Westminster by Cardinal Wolsey, preceded by a few years, events which produced as radical a change in the spiritual govern-

ment of England as the passage of the Commonwealth to the Protectorate did in that of our temporal policy; and it is an odd coincidence the finding Cardinal Wolsey and the master of the ceremonies blustering about our foreign affairs in the same spot, and much in the same *tone*, at intervals of 146 years.

To the most excellent Council of Ten.

London, November 13, 1516.

After having written the accompanying, the reverend nuncio came to me, and discussing present affairs, he told me, in the first place, that his Holiness is not included in this confederacy, neither will he join it; but that to induce him so to do, the allies have determined amongst themselves that the Cardinal of Sion is to go in person to Rome, to exhort and persuade his Holiness to adhere to this league, promising him, in the name of all the confederates, to make the Signor Lorenzino free lord of Florence,[1] and give him not merely the investiture of that city and territory, but also of the duchy of Urbino, Modena, and Reggio. He also told me that the Bishop Colonna, who was to have come here, has changed his intention, and will remain with the Catholic King, which is a manifest sign that the Pope does not mean to join this confederation. My informant urged me most strongly to keep the first part of his communication very secret, as it was a thing only known to him and the right reverend Cardinals; so your Highness will deign to comply with his request, as he has always done excellent service in these negotiations; and he tells me that, in former times, he effected great things for your Highness, for which no demonstration was made him, not so much as a single word. I think, therefore, it would be very much to the purpose for your Serenity in your next missives to charge me to return

him thanks; and, moreover, should you think fit, to make him some offer of church preferment, taking care that the paragraph be put in cypher, lest, in the event of the letters being intercepted, it prove to his great detriment and ruin.

Moreover, in the conversation held with the right reverend Cardinal, as your Serenity will have seen by the accompanying, not a word did he say concerning the matter proposed by him heretofore, and which I wrote to your Highness, about your joining this new league; nor did I broach the topic, knowing that such was the intention and will of the Signory, though I was fully aware that the threats which his right reverend lordship made me were for the purpose of inducing me to say something hereon.

[1] As stated at p. 37, vol. i., Julian de Medici died on the 17th of March, 1516, and was succeeded in the government of Florence by his nephew Lorenzino, who thus became the head of the house of Medici, and the father of Catharine, A.D. 1519.

London, November 15, 1516.

Since my despatches of the 13th, I have heard nothing of any importance, save that these lords, seeing that his Holiness has refused to join their conspiracy, have given him the term of six more months to decide and reply, during which interval they will not cease urging him by letters to become a party to it; and, as a last resource, the Cardinal of Sion will go to Rome for this purpose.

I cannot persuade myself that these lords will execute their threats, unless his Holiness aforesaid join this league, and that they have the greater part of the Switzers with

them; and these two provisos lacking, I do not think they will proceed to the protest mentioned in the accompanying: this I shall endeavour to ascertain, as I am of opinion that your Highness is much interested in knowing it.

My friend (Chieregato) has given me to understand that this side is anxiously awaiting my receipt of letters from your Highness, hoping that you may yet decide in their favour, which convinces me that all the threats uttered on the day before yesterday by the right reverend Cardinal were devised to this effect; but he said not a word to me, and still less did I speak to him on the subject—a course which I shall pursue in future. * * *

Chieregato also assures me, that within the last month, only 60,000 crowns have been sent to the Emperor for Verona, and 30,000 to the Switzers for their annual stipend. Also, that the son-in-law of Galeazo Visconte, who was accredited to the Switzers by his Majesty, has been dismissed, for the reason assigned in my former letters,[1] the said Galeazo having, at the request of the most Christian King, induced certain cantons to side with him.

I have this moment been with "the friend," from whom I wanted to know whether the protest destined for the most Christian King and your Highness was to be made after the decision of the Pope and of the Switzers or before; and he assures me, that said protest will be sent to each, immediately after the signature of the treaty by all the allies, except the Pope and the Switzers, whose subscription will not be waited for; and I have so bestirred myself, that I have obtained the copy of the oath taken by his Majesty, and also the clause drawn up for transmission to his Holiness, togther with all the conditions enjoined him, should he choose to become a party to the present league. Your Highness will be pleased to keep these two acts very secret,

and not communicate them to others, as their promulgation might easily lead to the discovery of my informant, he having noted them himself; and, according to his account, no one except the confederates possesses the copy. He moreover told me that these lords are endeavouring to induce the Catholic King to take the Princess of England, and repudiate the French Infant.

[1] See vol. i., p. 326, and note. The ambassador there merely alludes to an act of peculation, without mentioning this plan devised by Galeazzo Visconti for aiding France with the moneys of England.

London, November 18, 1516.

Your Highness will now learn that I have been assured by "the friend," that besides the land forces which his Majesty will have for the attack on France, he has ordered a fleet of sixty sail, under the command of the Lord Marquis,[1] who is to attack a certain duchy of Guienne on the borders of Spain, near Bayonne, whither, moreover, an armada went when this King crossed over to France. He told me also that the decision of the Swiss diet was expected, and that a conference is being held in Scotland to determine on war or peace.

The right reverend Bishop of Winchester has hitherto been absent from hence, not having chosen to interfere in these impassioned resolves, but now that they are duly despatched, he is returned; and considering him an excellent instrument of mediation under present circumstances, provided he would assume the charge, I went to visit him, and was received very graciously. I congratulated him on his health, and said that I had been anxiously wishing

for him, both in order to pay him my respects frequently, as was my wont, and also that his salt might have seasoned this dish which is being prepared to the detriment and ruin of your Highness. His lordship thanked me for the compliment, and told me he had heard of my conferences with the right reverend Cardinal, both his proposals and my replies.

Perceiving that he did not probe the topic deeper, I told him I greatly marvelled that this confederacy should seem to be formed so especially against your Highness, arrangements having been made for summoning the most Christian King and your Excellency to raise the siege of Verona, and desist from attacking it, within the term of one month; and that in the event of non-compliance, it was to be understood that war would be waged on the opposing parties, which is neither more nor less than a violation of divine and human right—the choosing to deprive your Serenity of the city of Verona, which has belonged to you for a century past; and I expressed my surprise at its having been threatened to make the attack with a force so overwhelming as to entail a cost exceeding sevenfold the value of Verona, saying it would have been more glorious, in lieu of lavishing these funds on a war against two Christian states, to have expended them against the Turk, who is watching for the ruin of the entire Christian religion, directing all his efforts to that end. I then gave account to his lordship of the magnitude of his army, and about the armada he had fitted out; observing, that should he be victorious, or arrange matters with his enemies, there was no doubt but that this cloud would burst over Christendom, and that universal attention should be directed to this instead of having thought for Verona, which in all right and justice ought to be recovered out of the hands of its present occupants. I added many other particulars relating

to this confederacy; and prayed his lordship in conclusion, should the opportunity present itself, to take the part of your Signory, and guide the league towards a more glorious and religious undertaking.

His lordship answered me, that the confederacy ought not to render any one uneasy, as it was merely defensive, and not offensive: though it was true indeed that should any of the confederates be unjustly attacked, it would not be unfitting to defend them; adding, that with regard to the claims of the Emperor and of your Excellency to the city of Verona, he knew nothing at variance with what I had told him, but was of opinion that I had no cause for anxiety on this account, as his Majesty was not inclined towards war; and he twice repeated to me, "Our King does not wish to make war, nor yet the Catholic King; neither could this last, even if he would, as he is a youth:" implying, that his council would not let him. In the course of further conversation, he expressed himself thus: "Domine Orator, confederacies are often formed, but, as you perceive, few are carried into effect; so that as the Almighty shall counsel, so will it come to pass." After much had been said on this topic, the hour being late, I did not think fit to make any further rejoinder, reserving myself for another visit; and thus did I take leave of his right reverend lordship, who, whilst accompanying me, said, "To-day in council we discussed at large the affairs of your Signory with regard to continuing our good friendship, and the intercourse maintained of yore." I told him that your Excellency had never swerved from your friendship towards this kingdom, and would ever persevere therein, should it so please his Majesty, of which I entertained no doubt, nor yet but that his right reverend lordship and others who think correctly were of the same mind; and thereupon I departed. Your Highness hears these

conversations, and will distil from them such essence as you shall think fit.

[1] Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset, grandfather of Lady Jane Grey. Hume, quoting Herbert and Hollingshed, gives an account of his commanding the expedition to Fontarabia in 1512, devised for the purpose of making the conquest of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined the English had still some adherents yet partial to the tradition of their rule there under Edward the Black Prince, the birth of whose son at Bordeaux had so endeared Richard II. to the Gascons, that on his murder in 1399, they refused their allegiance to Henry IV., nor was our occupation of Guienne from 1154 to 1450 forgotten in 1512; but of the project here mentioned by the Venetian ambassador to attempt its recovery in 1516-17, there is no note either in Hume or Lingard.

London, December 7, 1516.

Your Highness will now learn that on the receipt of your missives of the 25th of October and 7th ultimo, as also of the duplicates of the 25th, received by way of Rome, with summaries from the Levant, I went to his Majesty, acquainting him with said extracts, pointing out the extremely perilous situation of the Christian religion, which ought to be seen to speedily for the common weal; as otherwise I perceived no safeguard against the ruin of Christendom, detailing to him the great importance of Syria and the immense increase of territory which the Turk must obtain, should he advance there in Egypt and in Persia, where I considered he would encounter small resistance, having routed the army of the Soldan.[1] I added many other things relating to this matter, of which the King seemed to take small heed, his whole anxiety being directed towards the affairs of Italy and France, a tendency in which he is well confirmed by the right reverend Cardinal, who is more inflamed with this desire than

ever; his Majesty only said, therefore, that in time, measures would be taken.

To-day, I went to Cardinal Wolsey, and we had a long interview—not on my account, for I answered in very few words—but owing to what was said by himself, as he never tires speaking of the Italian expedition. To tell in short the result of the whole conversation, after exhorting me most strongly to desist from the siege of Verona, expatiating on the treachery and ambition of the most Christian King and your Sublimity, and on the power and intention of this new league to preserve and maintain Verona for the Emperor, he told me that within two months, conjointly with the Catholic King, they meant to send two of their ambassadors to his most Christian Majesty and to your Signory, with a summons to desist from said attack and siege; and in the event of non-compliance, threatening war to both one and the other within a month from the announcement of said summons, saying, "Be assured, that unless you desist, we are disposed to wage as utter war against you as if you were so many infidels; you will be prohibited trading all over the world; and we shall endeavour to get his Holiness to excommunicate both the most Christian King and your Signory, so that should you choose to exist, it will behove you go into Turkey. On the other hand," he continued, "should you desist from the attack, we will form a general peace and confederacy, and in order that this result may ensue, consent to a truce being made for six months, or as long as you like, during which interval we will negotiate the agreement between the Emperor and your Signory; of which truce the King of France will approve; so that the agreement, the universal peace, and the confederation of the Christian princes against the infidels, are in your hands. Think now whether Verona ought to be the cause of

preventing so great happiness, and whether the other potentates will have reason to be your capital enemies should you fail effecting this"—with a multitude of expressions besides, which it would be very tedious to repeat.

I answered, that your Sublimity was desirous of the universal confederacy, and to prevent greater peril than that dreaded from the King of France, and to this, I said, his lordship, as a meritorious cardinal of the holy church ought more to direct his eyes and mind. With regard to the intimation to be made by the ambassadors, I knew not how your Serenity would deal, but added that you would take counsel from time, and the state of affairs; and as throughout his discourse, he expressly declared that should your Excellency choose to join this confederacy, deserting the King of France, you would obtain peace both with the Emperor and the others, I answered this by saying, that I did not see how your Excellency could form such a resolve save to your eternal ignominy, and that placing himself in the position of your Signory, neither would his lordship act thus, especially as your Excellency had no legitimate cause for renouncing the French alliance. To this he rejoined, "Well! if you do not choose to abjure the friendship of the King of France, abjure Verona,[2] and everything will be adjusted." With regard to the truce, I made no answer soever, save that I would write to your Excellency; but respecting Verona, I said I greatly marvelled, if the universal confederacy failed to take effect on that account, that we should bear the blame, and not those who occupy that city unduly; neither did I perceive it to be of such importance as to warrant its impeding the contemplated confederacy. To this he replied, that any rate they chose Verona to belong to the Emperor, in order that should the King of France take farther steps to obtain the monarchy of Italy, the Emperor and the King of

England may have it in their power to prevent him, which would not be the case were Verona in possession of your Highness. I told him that his lordship derived his information from those who sought the ruin of Christendom, and that if he knew, as well as I did, the position of Italy with reference to the towns of the Emperor, he would not lay so much stress on Verona; as there are many ways for coming into Italy, and especially that of the Friuli, which is perfectly open, and has always been styled by ancient and modern writers, the gate through which by sundry roads, both Germans and Turks may enter Italy, so that this is not the reason; but that the wish entertained by the Emperor to occupy this city, which belongs to your Excellency, amputating this limb from you, and facilitating his acts of aggression in Lombardy and the march of Treviso, was the cause of this.

After I had discussed this topic at large, his lordship changed the subject, saying, "You are certainly very bigoted in the faith you place in this King of France of yours, who every day makes promises and every possible offer to the Emperor, for the sake of coming to terms with him and the other confederates, and he promises to leave him Verona, and also to give him Brescia;" and to this he swore, pointing at a crucifix on an altar in the apartment where we were. I told him your Sublimity could only judge by what you heard, and that I would write you all these things in full; whereupon he chose me to tell him how I should express myself about these colloquies, as I did, and he approved, saying, "Had I a seat in your Senate there at Venice, so that I could address those most sage Signors, I doubt not but that of the singular love I bear your Republic, I should persuade them to leave Verona, or to join our league, for I would prove to them their ruin and destruction as inevitable, in little more than six months:"

during which interval, he told me, that they would surely seize all your territory on the main land; whilst by accepting the alternative, you would enjoy peace and tranquillity, and resume your usual commerce.

With this we dropped the topic, and commenced discussing the expedition to be undertaken against the Turk; and he came to the conclusion, that on these matters being arranged, his King would perform memorable feats, and excel all the others, adding "*and perhaps I myself will go in person:*" whereto I exhorted him to the utmost, telling him that there it was not merely a question of the Christian faith, and of preserving the rest of Christ's patrimony, now held by Christians, but of obtaining two empires, five kingdoms, and so many provinces and cities now held by the Turk, but which of yore belonged to Christians, and that said conquests might be made with less money than would be expended for the waging of war in Italy; and with this I took leave.

[1] Sultan Selim I. gave battle to the Soldan of Egypt, Ransou Algouri, in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, A.D. 1516, August 23; the Soldan fell fighting most bravely, and was succeeded by Toumom Bei, the last national sovereign of Egypt. The victory of Aleppo gained by Selim in August 1516, is of course the one here alluded to by Giustinian.

[2] In the original, "Se non volete *lassar* la amicitia del Re di Franza *lassate* Verona." The Venetian ambassador thought like Romeo,

> "There is no world without Verona's walls;
> But purgatory, torture, hell itself:
> Hence banished is banished from the world,
> And world-exiled is death."

The peace between Maximilian and the Venetians had been already signed, stipulating the surrender of Verona to Venice on the 24th December. (See Guicciardini, vol. iii. p. 204.)

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

London, December 7, 1516.

Your Highness will now learn that a few days ago, the nuncio (Chieregato)* was sent for by the right reverend Cardinal, who, when he reached his presence, took him into a private chamber, where he laid hands on him,[1] telling him in fierce and rude language, that he chose to know what he had written to the King of France, and what intercourse he held with me, as either he was frequently here (at the Venetian embassy), or my son,[2] or the secretary, at his residence, and that he should not quit the spot until he had confessed every thing; and unless he told by fair means, that he would put him to the rack. On this, high words were exchanged by either party; the nuncio denying the charges brought against him, but admitting our intimacy, as induced by friendship, and a community of literary pursuits.[3] Concerning the King of France, he mentioned what he had written to him, and the reply received, which did not bear upon the present matters; so the Cardinal sent to his house, to seize all his papers and cyphers, but found nothing objectionable; wherefore, at the intercession of the rev. Bishop of Winchester, he was released, permission being given him to quit the kingdom, and this he will do; his departure now being merely delayed by the expectation of pecuniary supply. The proceeding is summary, especially against a papal nuncio, and has appeared to me worthy the knowledge of your Excellency. Chieregato also assures me that immediately on the declaration of war against the most Christian King and your Excellency, I shall receive my dismissal, so that I am expecting leave such as he has had. I, most serene Prince, should be very glad, at length,

after so much toil, to return home, but not exactly in this fashion, and hope in God that if the most Christian King make terms with the Switzers, these lords will not realize their projects, for I already perceive the following symptom, namely, that by this time they were already to have sent the heralds to make the declaration, whereas that plan has been changed and they are sending ambassadors, and the period has been protracted to two months; nor does this proceed from any other cause than their knowing perhaps that they have not the Switzers at their command. However, be this as it may, provided honour and profit accrue to your Excellency, and that Verona be recovered, I shall care nothing at all about my stay or return, as I am sure of coming soon, with the good grace of your Highness, and perhaps when good grace shall prevail between this kingdom and your Signory.

The nuncio also told me that the Cardinal of Sion had departed not over satisfied with these lords, saying they were very close about money;[4] and that as he (Chieregato) is the servant of his lordship,[5] this last will resent the treatment he has been subjected to, as will his Holiness; and it seeming to me very desirable that said Sion should quarrel with this side, which perhaps might be the cause of thwarting their projects, especially as he is wrathful and choleric, I so plied the nuncio, that I at length made him write a letter to Sion, exaggerating this circumstance as much as possible, I promising him that this step would prove very agreeable to your Highness. His letter is enclosed in one addressed by him to the Lord Albert of Carpi,[6] with instructions to forward it to the Imperial court for delivery to the said Cardinal, it being tied up with mine, and your Sublimity will so dispose of it, as to your extreme wisdom shall seem expedient.

[1] In the original, "lo meno in una camera secreta dove *li messe le mano a' dosso.*"

[2] In the Diaries of Sanuto, where mention is made of the return of Sebastian Giustinian to Venice, it is stated that he was accompanied by his son Marino, who had resided with him in England.

[3] A fact which is proved by their both being in correspondence with Erasmus. See vol. i. p. 262.

[4] See, however, the despatch of November 13th, preceding.

[5] See retro, vol. i. p. 315.

[6] We are here introduced to another of the correspondents of Erasmus, Alberto Pio, Count of Carpi, whose controversies with that writer obtained great renown for "the Lord Albert," who in this year 1516 was ambassador at the court of Leo X., from the Emperor Maximilian, and the letter from the nuncio in London, addressed to the Cardinal of Sion, was therefore meant to go with the despatches from Venice to Rome, and thence to the Imperial Court. The Lord Albert had for tutor in his youth the elder Aldus, and it is supposed, that when at Carpi, A.D. 1482, with his pupil and his pupil's uncle, the "*Phœnix*" Pico, this trio first projected that printing establishment which has rendered the name of Aldus synonymous with literary and typographical excellence. The Lord Albert was of course a member of the *Neacademia*, or Aldine Committee, in which our countryman, the famous physician Thomas Lineacre, took an active part, and for a while Erasmus ranked amongst their colleagues, his "Maxims" having been printed by Aldus, although subsequently the theologian and the printer quarrelled, and Aldus and his heirs, in their editions of any of the other works of Erasmus, merely style him "*Transalpinus quidam homo.*"

London, December 13, 1516.

Your Sublimity will understand that for the purpose of making the declaration announced in my foregoing, these lords have appointed as ambassador to the most Christian King and your Sublimity, one Doctor Clif,[1] a prudent man, and a very good Italian; the second intimation will, I understand, be made through the Catholic King; his departure will not take place so speedily, though I know not exactly when, but this I shall endeavour to ascertain, and will notify the whole to your Sublimity. In my foregoing, I omitted

one fact worthy of the knowledge of your Highness, namely, that amongst the threats made me at that conference, was the following: that, if within the term specified for desisting from the attack on Verona, his aforesaid most Christian Majesty and your Excellency do not cease hostilities, all the expenses of every description soever, incurred for this undertaking by the whole of the combined armies, this side means to place to the account of those who shall have declined compliance with the summons; and should they not choose to pay by fair means, it will behove them do so by force of arms.

Item, a secretary who had been residing on behalf of the King of France with the Duke of Albany in Scotland, and returned hither, tells me that a truce has been agreed to between this kingdom and Scotland until the 27th of next month; and that he hopes it will be prolonged for another year, though for this he does not vouch. The moneys for the annual tribute, which the most Christian King pays to his Majesty here, have been lately forwarded.

[1] Amongst the diplomatists employed by Cardinal Wolsey at this period was Dr. John Clerke, or Clark, who in the course of time became Bishop of Bath and Wells. In the "Statutes of the Realm," vol. iii. p. 337, mention is made of one Robert Clyff Clerke, who is excepted in an act of pardon, together with the Bishop of Hereford and others.

I now announce the receipt of letters from the most noble Badoer in France, purporting, that on the 8th instant news had arrived there of the signature of the articles of peace between the Emperor, the most Christian King, and your

Signory; of the agreement, moreover, between the Switzers and the aforesaid most Christian King, which includes your Highness; and of the surrender of Verona to be made to your Excellency, for such a sum and at such a time as your Signory well knows. These tidings have in truth revived me, for from this new league stipulated here, I had been anticipating contrary results, and turmoil to the State, whereas I now perceive "that the day-spring from on high hath visited us;" whereupon I congratulate your Highness more than words can express; but, from the greatness of the event, as well as the immense benefit which the Signory will derive from it, your Highness may comprehend the joy of my soul; for I can exclaim, *hodie salus huic domui, facta est!* May the Father Eternal, of His clemency, deign to grant that the consignment of Verona into the hands of your Excellency be effected speedily, so that all be more convinced of the so great grace which God has granted us!

The King having been many days past taking his pleasure, I deemed it advisable to go and pay my respects to him yesterday; and after he had heard mass, his Majesty betook himself to a place where he usually gives audience to the ambassadors, and being the only one present, I perceived that his Majesty wished me to make some communication to him; so as this intelligence was already in circulation, and his Majesty had received an express announcing it, though it was not credited either by him or by these lords, I presented myself, and when his Majesty inquired what news I had, I narrated to him the contents of the letters from the aforesaid most noble Badoer, omitting such paragraphs as seemed to me unseasonable. When I came to the part about the peace, and the conditions stipulating the surrender of Verona on receiving pecuniary recompense, &c., he said to me, "Domine Orator! I love

you much, and much do I love your lords. Were it as you say, I should be content, for I wish you all weal; but know that you are deceived, and unless you provide speedily for your interests, you will become aware of the artifices of the King of France, who, for your information, has negotiated and is negotiating peace with the Emperor to your exclusion, and is willing to allow him to deprive you of Verona, and of all such other portions of your territory as he lays claim to, the King of France on his part making himself master of other possessions in Italy, in such wise that they mean to divide the whole of that luckless land between them; and know, that my assertions are not based on air, for I have got the articles which were sent me from the Emperor's own court, and the like from my ambassador resident with the Catholic King. True is it, that they are not yet ratified, nor am I even sure that they will be, yet notice is given me to this effect, and amongst the other conditions of this peace is the following: that the 100,000 ducats which the Catholic King is bound to pay annually to the King of France for the kingdom of Naples, are to be made over to the Emperor by desire of the said King of France, in order that the said Emperor may be content for the King of France to possess himself of a certain part of Italy to which he aspires. Think, now, how you are circumvented! I have chosen to warn you, that you may give notice by letter to your lords so that they may open their eyes: know also, that this agreement is to be concluded within the period of three months, so let the State look to her affairs; nor on this taking place do I know what potentate will ever again choose to trust the King of France, seeing such deceit practised on you; and should this come to pass, what will you do? what remedy will you apply?" In answer to his Majesty, I

thanked him for so loving and important a communication, induced by the good will which his Majesty bears your Excellency in return for your observance towards him, and said that I had imparted my news, with the belief that it would prove very agreeable to him, and that as our treaty was already signed and sealed, I much doubted whether this other peace and agreement of a contrary tenor could take place. I told him, however, that I was not the judge in this matter; and that his Majesty, who is acquainted with the negotiation, will form such opinion as to his wisdom shall seem fit. I am obliged, most serene Prince, to adopt this course; that is to say, not to contradict their intelligence, lest I seem to despise it, nor yet appear to consider ours false, but to steer the middle passage.

In reply to his inquiry, "Should this come to pass, what will you do?" I replied thus, "Serenissime Rex! in that case, the most illustrious Signory could only have recourse to that light which has ever shone upon her—namely, your Majesty; nor do I imagine, were such deceit practised, which I can scarcely believe possible, that your Highness would permit it." Whereupon he replied, "You would do well; for I neither would, nor ever did, desire the detriment of your State, and I would make terms between you and the Emperor; for at this present there is no sovereign in the world who enjoys greater authority with him than I do, and, indeed, with extreme reason.[1] But I marvel that your lords should be so bigoted to this King of France, who aims at nothing but your ruin; and I warn you, that both in this supposed success, as in every other, he always keeps behind the door the staff with which to cudgel you;" adding many other words to this effect, in such wise that whereas, on former occasions, I had a scarcity of audience, it was now conceded me to superfluity, so that all the lords

who stood by, but at such a distance as to be out of hearing, were astonished. In reply to all these their proposals, or prophecies (for thus do they choose them to be styled), I merely answered that the good faith of your Excellency did not deserve such a return, and that I hoped in the Lord that He would not permit such a result to take place; in like manner as I also was of opinion that his Majesty would be averse to it for the welfare of Christendom, lest such tumults invite the Turk to compass the ruin of the Christian commonwealth sooner than he would do—a catastrophe to which all potentates should open their eyes.

To this his Majesty rejoined, "You say with truth that good princes ought to have an eye to this, but there are few good ones; as some make peace, from inability to wage war, and some for the sake of practising frauds; whilst others again do so to bide their time for waging war, so that there are few good ones. I promise you freely that I was never desirous of seizing what belongs to others, nor of waging war; and if I did take the field, it was solely in order to obtain good peace; and thus ought everybody to do, for it is worthy of kings and princes to desire peace with all, and not to wish to injure any one. But beware, should you write these things to your lords, to have them kept secret, without quoting me as their author, since, for good reasons, I should not choose them to reach the ears of the King of France." I promised his Majesty that all should remain as if uttered in a confessional, the like having been observed with regard to the other communications made me in secret by his Majesty, whom I thanked infinitely in the name of your Sublimity for his so great graciousness; and with this I took leave.

It has seemed fit to me to mention the whole to your Sublimity, because I deem the words of kings worthy of

consideration; not, indeed, that I believe anything he told me, being of opinion that it proceeds from these two ambassadors from the Emperor and Spain, who aim at drawing money as leeches do blood. At the same time, I think it desirable for your Signory to be acquainted with the language and tone employed by his Majesty, so that you may know how much to promise yourself from him in other matters.

[1] Henry VIII. was evidently groaning internally over the loss of his ducats, and trying to cheat himself into the belief of their having at least procured for him some influence with Maximilian.

London, December 30, 1516.

I went to-day to pay my respects to the right reverend Cardinal, in order to see whether the change in affairs had made him change his tone and purpose; but he was extremely busy, especially in giving instructions to the two ambassadors appointed to the Emperor—namely, the Lord High Chamberlain[1] and Dr. Clif; so he had it intimated to me that I was not to wait, but to return after the day of the Circumcision.[2] This being the case, I proceeded to visit the reverend Bishop of Durham, and talking with him about the conclusion of this peace, he appeared not to credit it, saying, that the ambassadors had written what they were made to believe. Without disputing the point with him, I exhibited implicit faith in the letters of your Excellency's ambassador, who, I said, would have been very cautious about certifying an event of such moment; and I then asked him when these ambassadors accredited to the Emperor would depart: he said, To-morrow, and that they were to go to the King of Spain, with whom there is already another

ambassador resident, and that one of the three would continue at the court of his Highness aforesaid, the other two proceeding on their way to meet the Emperor. I inquired of him whether, on the completion of their embassy to the Emperor, these ambassadors had any other mission to fulfil: he answered in the negative, and that they would return hither; adding, "You ask, to learn whether they are going to the King of France and to your Signory: no, no, no! We have cause to make war, but are anxious for peace and quiet amongst Christian powers." On this, I greatly praised the prelate and all these lords, that they should be so peacefully disposed; though my own belief is, that the said ambassadors are going rather with a view to derange matters, which this side does not consider as settled; for I do not imagine that in so few hours they can have changed their will from bad to good, or their apparent warlike ardour for the desire of peace.

Yesterday, the Lord High Treasurer told me that the whole of this kingdom wished for a general peace, and that in these times nothing would please him more than to witness the pacification of Christendom, and that all should content themselves with their own; all which conceits I laud and approve when conversing with their lordships, vowing that they are more necessary than ever, both for the sake of staying the slaughter and destruction which have raged amongst Christians for so many years, and also by reason of the peril threatened by Turkish affairs, concerning which, having held various discourse with said reverend Bishop of Durham, I took leave of his lordship.

[1] Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester, (see retro, vol. i. p. 107.)

[2] *Alias* New Year's Day, the festival of the Circumcision being celebrated on the 1st of January.

London, January 6, 1517.

It is asserted here universally that the peace between the Emperor and your Sublimity is concluded and sealed, a fact which the malignants interpret in various forms. I went to the Cardinal, both for the sake of keeping friends with him, in conformity with what I take to be the wish of your Highness, and also to learn what details had been given him concerning this matter by the Emperor, from whom I knew that he had received letters on the preceding day. Notwithstanding this, his lordship told me he had no news soever, and that neither had any letters reached him: which was false. On his asking me what I had heard about the truce as reported, I told him, that according to fresh letters received by me from the most noble Badoer, what I stated recently, concerning the peace and the sealing, had been confirmed, with this in addition — that Monseigneur de Courteville had already left, in the name of the Emperor and of his Catholic Majesty, for the purpose of effecting the surrender of Verona, which I imagined was by this time made; and that I trusted it would prove the commencement and well nigh the conclusion of a general peace.

All this his right reverend lordship seemed to admit, as one who had been certified of the fact on the preceding day, and he congratulated me on behalf of your Highness, as also did the right reverend Bishop of Durham; their language expressed extreme satisfaction, and they endeavoured to persuade me that their league had been the cause of this peace, which would not have been made had not the said league inspired some terror, in consequence of which recourse was had thereto, saying much to demonstrate that their object corresponded with ours, and that the confederacy formed with those potentates mentioned in their league,

aimed but at arousing them all, so that when aroused, they might be more prone to said peace, which proved very beneficial to England, as she would be spared much treasure, which it would otherwise have behoved her expend, had peace not ensued. From this I gather, although I am of opinion that this peace was unpalatable here, that nevertheless, for the sake of their repute, they will feign satisfaction, and tolerate it, and not think of any farther innovation, for which God be thanked.

I, most serene Prince, who am aware that the friendship of his Majesty here is not only useful but necessary to your Sublimity on many accounts, made a show of believing what they say about their satisfaction at this peace, and also of acknowledging them as its cause, lest they think that your Signory consider it as effected against their will and command, and to prevent their raising any obstacle, especially until the surrender of Verona, which I await with all anxiety, and respectfully remind your Highness that you should notify it to his Majesty, pretending to suppose that it gives him great pleasure.

London, January 28, 1517.

Since my last, I have been unable to learn anything worthy of your knowledge, either from the King, as he is taking his pleasure, or from the right reverend Cardinal, who is more reserved than ever; the Bishop of Winchester even declines my visits, because he is suspected of thwarting the interests of the Emperor. I have, however, been assured through a good channel, that his Holiness has written twice to the King, that peace is already made between the Emperor and France and your Sublimity, on condition of

the surrender of Verona, and counselling him not to impede the Christian expedition, which will be the necessary consequence of the peace, by any hostile movements. The Pope, it seems, is apprehensive lest any disturbance should arise about the affairs of Scotland, though as yet nothing has taken place warranting such fears. From another source, on which reliance may be placed, I have received confirmation of what I wrote to your Excellency as told me by the right reverend Cardinal, namely, that you will not obtain Verona in virtue of this agreement made with the Emperor and the King of France, though it may be that you will recover it by other means. I, however, am at a loss to imagine what cause there can possibly be for such a disappointment, as the surrender of the city is an express condition of the peace, nor could I bring myself to believe in the possibility of there being any difficulty, were it not that down to this hour, I have no letters either from your Highness, or from the most noble Badoer, concerning the execution of the treaty, which your Excellency, I imagine, would have announced to his Majesty, had it taken place * * *

London, February 10, 1517.

Since my last, the most noble Badoer has announced to me the entry into Verona of the most illustrious Lautrec, together with the most noble Griti and his army, and the consignment made by the agent of the Catholic King to the most illustrious Lautrec aforesaid, and that two days thence it was to be made over to the most noble Griti; intelligence which proved so great a consolation to me and all your servants in this town, that it defies exaggeration, as hereon

depend both quiet, tranquillity, and the establishment of the State, and I congratulate your Signory as becoming my service and the nature of the tidings; which, being so momentous, I deemed them worthy of communication to his Majesty.

So on the following morning, though I could not go to Greenwich by water, owing to the very thick ice, the journey by land likewise being difficult on account of the frozen and dangerous roads, I, however, rode thither, and after I had heard mass with the King, on his betaking himself to the place where he usually gives audience to the ambassadors, I acquainted him with this news, in such language as I deemed apt, implying that they would prove no less agreeable to his Majesty than to your Highness, by reason of the mutual good-will and confederacy which prevail between you, adding many other expressions calculated to impress him favourably. His Majesty thanked me in the first place for the compliment, remaining quite surprised, and stricken with great astonishment, saying and repeating to me several times, "How can this be?"—as by the advices he had received it was impossible; and on his wishing to know in whose letters this intelligence was contained, when I told him it was in those of the ambassador aforesaid, and of the most noble Griti, in date of Verona the 11th of January, he seemed to believe it, and said, "Verily, the Emperor has been deceived by the King of France, and I know how," uttering this, however, with great hesitation; and on my inquiring of his Majesty what this deceit could be, he said, "I do not know for certain, but I suspect it; and things uncertain ought not to escape the lips of a king." I lauded his Majesty, who told me that as the thing had taken place by consent of the Emperor, he was content, and rejoiced at whatever proved to the welfare and

prosperity of your Highness, adding with a smile, "Let who will be deceived, your Signory, who has obtained Verona, is not that one." I thanked his Majesty for his good will, and took my departure.

After leaving the King, as it seemed to me fitting that this intelligence should be announced to the right reverend Cardinal, I sent my Secretary to his lordship to make an appointment, and being unable to procure it on that day, I moreover sent him on the morrow. On the latter occasion, having told his right reverend lordship that I had certain news to impart to him, he chose to hear it from the secretary himself, who stated to him the contents of the letters of the most noble Badoer, and of those from the most noble Griti, in date of Verona, which surprised and astonished him to the utmost. To make surer of the fact, he made my secretary show him the date of the letters, and then after remaining a while in amazement, he inquired particularly about the character of the most illustrious Lautrec and the most noble Griti, and concerning the condition of Verona, and the strength of either army, of which the Secretary rendered him good account, amplifying every thing as expedient: he then added that it had been my wish to make him this announcement, imagining that it would prove extremely acceptable to his right reverend lordship, as hence would ensue what he had been aiming at hitherto, namely, the general peace;[1] to which his lordship made answer that he assuredly rejoiced; but he spoke coldly, like one who expresses that with the lips to which his heart is a stranger.

The secretary also told him of the success of Sultan Selim, which he listened to attentively, but gave no farther reply; from whence, most serene Prince, I conclude that this news has been heard by the Court with as much vexation as any intelligence it could possibly have received: an inference

I draw from many other acts and words done and proffered in my presence by these lords, with the exception of the right reverend Bishop of Winchester, who travels the good road, and has ever been opposed to those who adhered to the wishes of the Emperor. I do not think that I shall be able to talk with any of these lords until after the 15th instant, as at this present, certain councils[2] are being held concerning the affairs of the whole kingdom, which keep them occupied all day, but so soon as I can, I will visit them all, and my letters shall acquaint your Sublimity with what I may hear. The truces with Scotland are now being negotiated here, and two agents of the most illustrious the Duke of Albany are come to conclude them, meaning that they should remain in force until St. John's day in next June, whereas this side insists on their lasting until next St. Andrew's day:[3] all the articles relating to the maintenance of the peace between the two kingdoms have been agreed to * * *

[1] The ambassador and the secretary seem each to have lavished their irony, the one at Greenwich and the other at York House, without much scruple; and one almost hears the peals of laughter with which the Venetian embassy in London rang when at the fireside in this cold winter of 1517, the "*sale*" of the King and Cardinal was discussed by the pantaloons, to the delight of young Marino, and somewhat to the glee of the nuncio Chieregato, who will of course have rejoiced at the wry mouths made by Cardinal Wolsey when swallowing this bitter Venetian pill.

[2] In the years 1516-18 four inferior courts were established by Cardinal Wolsey: the first of these was held in Whitehall, then called York Place; the second was under the care of Dr. Stokesley, the King's almoner; a third was held in the Lord Treasurer's chamber, next to the Star Chamber; and the fourth at the Rolls. It appears probable that the affair of the malmsey-sack was discussed in the third of these courts.

[3] St. Andrew's festival is celebrated on the 30th of November.

London, February 11, 1517.

News has reached here through various channels to the effect that Ravenna and Cervia have fallen into the hands of your Sublimity, it being asserted that you had an understanding with the Duke of Urbino, the Duke of Ferrara, the Bentivogli, and others; the captain of the expedition being the Lord Marco Antonio Colonna,[1] with the troops which left Verona. This has elicited many comments from the lords and others in this town, who say that your Highness is restless, and has no thought but for your aggrandizement; and that after this, you will moreover choose to have something else; conceits which proceed chiefly from the Imperial ambassadors here resident, who have received intelligence to this effect, and do so to blame your Excellency, whom for upwards of a year they have never ceased defaming in terms the most ignominious that can be imagined. This very day, for example, I was told by "the faithful friend,"[2] who had been with said Imperial ambassadors, that one of them, by name the Count Bortholamio Tationo, whose county is near Aste, said, "What is this King doing, and these other princes? They ought all to join against these ribald Venetians, who are worse than Turks;" adding other words of a like nature; the which two ambassadors, since receiving the news of Verona, have put on cloth of frieze, most mean apparel;[3] to show the world, perhaps, that this took place contrary to the will of the Emperor, and to his great shame, for the sake of causing the King here to make some fresh stir.

To all those who have spoken to me about this affair of Ravenna and Cervia, I said I knew nothing soever, and shall pass over such intelligence as quietly as I can, thus avoiding the bitter comments which would, I know, be

made by many, who have already been in the habit of slandering; but should this news prove true, I think indeed it would be expedient for your Highness to write to his Majesty, palliating the matter in such wise as to your wisdom shall seem fit, in order to diminish the envy it will generate, and the reproaches it would subject us to; because, as my cue is rather to dissemble unbelief, I can hardly, at the same time, apologize for it.

A trustworthy person, and a good servant of your Serenity's, has assured me to-day that the King will at any rate cross over to Calais; the cause is unknown, but it is supposed to be for the purpose of an interview with the Emperor, and it is said, moreover, with the Catholic King: may God grant that it produce a good effect! For this purpose, great supplies of wines and other necessaries are being collected at Calais; this intelligence, I may add, was derived by my informant from an officer of his Majesty's customs, who assured him of it. I do not vouch for the fact, but the information being important, I have deemed it worthy of the knowledge of your Excellency.

[1] As before stated, Marc Antonio Colonna commanded in Verona for the Emperor, but on the peace of Noyon he entered the service of France. Cervia and Ravenna were taken from the Venetians by Pope Julius II. on the breaking out of the league of Cambray in 1509; but this report of an attempt to recover them in 1517 was false, induced, probably, by the efforts made by Francesco Maria della Rovere, the rightful Duke of Urbino, who engaged the Spanish troops disbanded at Verona, and recovered for a while his capital; but Marc Antonio Colonna is not mentioned by Guicciardini as having anything to do with this expedition, and the report about him may, therefore, be considered as false as the news of the seizure of Ravenna and Cervia by the Venetians.

[2] Namely, the Papal nuncio Francesco Chieregato.

[3] "Sono vestiti di friseto habito vilissimo;" this notion of going into sackcloth for the loss of Verona, which the Emperor endured spontaneously, being but too happy to receive in exchange the ducats of the Signory, appears a curious trait of diplomatic demonstration.

London, February 14, 1517.

I have been to visit the right reverend Cardinal, with whom I found the most illustrious Duke of Suffolk; he drew me aside together with said Duke, and congratulated me on the successes of your Sublimity, in the following precise terms, "*Gratulor vobis fælicitatibus vestris*, but I pray you not to molest the Church; content yourselves with your own; and touch not even the hem of Christ's garment;"[1] and on my wishing in the first place to declare that I knew nothing certain about this matter; and, moreover, were it such as represented, to justify the circumstance by such fair arguments as occurred to me, he replied, "Domine Orator, I have at this present a great deal of business to despatch; we will confer together more at leisure, and speak about this matter;" and as I perceived that he wished to be alone with the Duke of Suffolk, and that there was a crowd waiting for audience of him, I took leave, after thanking his right reverend lordship for his congratulations.

I then went to visit the reverend Bishop of Durham, who also congratulated me, displaying some hearty warmth of manner suited to his language, adding that he understood your Highness had obtained Ravenna and Cervia, of which he was extremely glad, so far as concerns the increase of force of "*your most illustrious Signory*" (by which title you had never previously been designated, since my sojourn here), but that he should wish for your quiet and that of all the Christian powers, and hopes an universal union would be effected. I thanked his lordship for his good will, and assured him that your Sublimity has nothing more at heart than general quiet and peace, and that he might easily imagine whether after so much toil your Excellency was

anxious for repose; and upon this, perceiving that he rather implied a doubt, muttering that those who think of obtaining fresh territory do not show signs of quiet, I assured him that I knew nothing soever of this intelligence, but could indeed certify that these movements had not been provoked by your Excellency, and that you were not privy to them, though possibly Ravenna and Cervia might have surrendered themselves to the Signory, as they had belonged to them for many years, and subsequently passed into the hands of Pope Julius, owing to the Cambrai conspiracy. His lordship, I said, should discard his belief that these towns had been compelled to surrender themselves, and rather suppose that by reason of their singular fidelity, which exceeded that of all the other places of your Excellency, on perceiving the opportunity, they had immediately thrown themselves into the arms of their mother of yore. It was little I ventured to say, indeed, to avoid furnishing matter for fresh comments concerning this business, and what I did say, was always after premising that I was ignorant of the circumstance, and merely answered in case it should be true; for all those who lamented the recovery of Verona, now seem to make signs of rejoicing for this affair of Ravenna, not indeed that they have changed their minds, but because they are of opinion that hence may arise some fresh disturbance, on which alone they are intent, hoping thus to form an alliance with his Holiness, who has hitherto appeared to hold them in small account, and through the Pope to rouse the Switzers. What may chance, God knows. Do your Excellency not fail, should you think fit, to write about your successes to this King, in proof of your wish to maintain the friendship and confederacy with his Majesty, and let no thought be had for the proposals made heretofore by the right reverend Cardinal, which you neither could nor should have answered otherwise

than you have, whereas, at present, the whole aspect of affairs is changed, nor is it requisite to discuss such topics.

[1] The Cardinal alludes to Cervia and Ravenna, which the Venetians, as we have seen, are reported to have recovered. Those two cities were taken from them and united to the domains of the Church at the period of the league of Cambray, by Pope Julius II. in the year 1509.

London, March 9, 1517.

Having received your Excellency's missives of the 26th of January, announcing the recovery of Verona, I went, yesterday, to his Majesty and made the becoming notification, to which the King replied, inquiring whether I had heard about the congress to be held by the Emperor, and the Kings of France and Spain, at Cambrai.[1] I said I knew they were to meet; and he then asked me if I was aware of their object; I replied that I was not, but that I imagined said Sovereigns would meet to make some arrangements for a general peace, for which I concluded all were anxious, and that I persuaded myself his Majesty was particularly so, the peril with which the Christian religion was threatened by the Turks being so imminent. Upon this, the King answered me smiling, "Know that we have a piece of news of great importance, which out of the love we bear you we will communicate. This congress has nothing else in view but your ruin, for they mean to discuss depriving you of all your territory on the main land, which we should greatly regret, because of the friendship existing between us, and so beware, and provide for your interests, as the Emperor, by reason of the malignity he entertains towards you, would subscribe to anything for your annihilation; the King of France, to

gratify his vast ambition for empire, will not scruple to break either faith or league, such as may be existing between you; whilst the Catholic King will accede to the will of the other two; and this intelligence I have from a good source."

I, most serene Prince, whom it behoves proceed throughout this mission, not according to my own free nature, but in conformity with that of these lords, and as I perceive expedient for the affairs of your Highness, am obliged to appear, if not to credit, at least to entertain doubts of many things which I do not believe, for the avoidance of seeming to make light of their communications: in this instance, I thought fit to hesitate somewhat, neither evincing belief, nor yet utterly scorning the intelligence, but said that were it so, it would be a bad return for the good faith displayed by your Serenity; and that it indeed surprised me, since if his most Christian Majesty had entertained this intention, it did not seem reasonable that he should have given up either Brescia or Verona to your Highness, to be at the trouble of getting them back and depriving you of them; and this I said, because I am aware that such reports are circulated, in order that your Highness may join this side; and the less reasonable the intelligence communicated to me appears, the more easily do they consider that it should induce a change in your policy. In reply, his Majesty observed that the Emperor had not surrendered Verona from any good he wished us, nor had he even intended the treaty to take effect; but that he had been deceived by the King of France. To this, an overwhelming reply might have been made, as by so much the more would such a fact have proved the good disposition of his most Christian Majesty towards your Excellency; but I did not think fit to proceed farther, as it is impossible to say aught in praise or favour of the King of France, without its proving most odious to his Majesty here; so I

thanked him for the loving communication made to me, and said that I imagined your Excellency would proceed with all becoming caution, and not fail in your duty with regard to preserving what you had obtained; and as it had been announced here by the Cardinal of Sion that your Excellency had an understanding with the Duke of Urbino, the Marquis of Mantua, and the Duke of Ferrara, and that you had already recovered Ravenna, Cervia, Rimini, and Faenza, slandering you vastly, owing to which, much venomous language had been lavished on your Excellency; I told his Majesty that the course of events proved to him the innocence of your Highness, and the malignity of those who seek to render you odious to all the Christian powers, declaring to him that the denouncement against your Signory with reference to the affairs of the Pontiff, had been false and calumnious.

His Majesty said he was very glad the news received here was not true, and that he exhorted your Excellency to be satisfied with your own, and having conversed thus for a good while, I took leave of his Majesty, and being at table on that day with the right reverend Cardinal, together with a number of princes and prelates, his right reverend lordship put a number of minute questions to me about the Turk, and after I had answered him becomingly, he said to me "God grant that there be not some Christian Prince worse than the Turk, and who labours more for the ruin of Christendom: bear in mind, Domine Orator, the conspiracy formed against you at Cambrai, in the time of King Louis: the like will take place now, they giving you to understand that the congress is held for a crusade, as they did the last time; so keep on the alert, and take care how you proceed; and I give you notice that this conspiracy comprises not only the three Kings, but the Pope likewise." I answered him well nigh in the same terms as

those employed by me to the most serene King, and he continued that they wish for nothing but a general peace, and exert themselves to this effect continually, so as to arrange matters in such wise as to be enabled to obtain that result with security, adding, "so do you likewise take this road; be content with your own, and do not offer impediment to those from whom you receive none:" which words I knew were induced by the report lately circulated, to the effect that your Excellency had an understanding with the Della Rovere Duke of Urbino, and had recovered your towns now held by the Pontiff; so I said that your Excellency was neither desirous of war, nor of seizing what belonged to others, and that you had never taken up arms unless challenged and provoked, as you were anxious for peace and concord, from which you derive more profit than any other potentate in the world.

After dinner, I drew aside with the right reverend Cardinal, and told him it was time to settle the affair of the wines of Candia,[2] and some other matters affecting our nation, and he answered me that at the present time they had much state business of great importance to transact, and that we would talk over this matter at greater convenience, adding that this kingdom was very well pleased that the galleys should come, although I had said nothing about them; my correspondents having informed me that your Highness was endeavouring to obtain the safe-conduct heretofore demanded through these lords from the King of Spain direct. The Cardinal then went on to say that what he had told me about the conspiracy forming against your Excellency, was solely out of the love his Majesty and his lordship bore your State, as he is well aware that your Signory has it not in your power to injure England, were you her enemy, nor to benefit her by your friendship; but that they should regret whatever proved detrimental to you. I

thanked his right reverend lordship for his good will, and made no reply to the closing sentence, to avoid cause for strife, which I shun as much as possible, as I consider such a course suited to the nature of these times.

I perceive great consultations being held here, much greater than usual, as if all their enemies were upon them: I am unable to discover the cause of this, or what they are negotiating, although I have made every possible inquiry; but I understand, from a good quarter, that they have so prepared themselves that they are in a state both to commence hostilities and to continue them, although no great stir is visible, because some years ago a census was taken of the able-bodied men throughout the kingdom, so that in case of need, it would be merely requisite to give them their pay, and a large army could be raised at once: they have also a number of ships in readiness, not that I think they wish to attack either France or Scotland, though I am indeed of opinion that seeing the prosperity of his most Christian Majesty, who has secured himself both against the Emperor and the Switzers, and is at peace with Italy and the Catholic King, they are apprehensive of being molested at Tournai or at Calais, or in some other way, and therefore choose to be prepared. I shall keep well on the watch to learn every thing, and will endeavour to ingratiate myself well with these lords, and of the result, my letters shall inform your Sublimity.

Moreover, considering your Sublimity to be on friendly terms with the Catholic King, I deemed it my duty to attempt visiting his reverend ambassador here, and sent my secretary to his lordship to appoint the mode and time of the interview, which he adroitly declined in very civil terms, nor shall I importune him farther, feeling that this office will prevent his having any reason to reproach me with not having

called on him. I shall do the like by the Imperial ambassador, who will I doubt not decline my visit, and less gently, by reason of his nature and habits.[3]

[1] This congress was first settled for the 2nd of February, but never took place at all, Maximilian having departed on the 31st of March from Brussels for Cologne, owing to a hitch concerning England, the league with whom purported that the Empire and Spain were her allies, "ad deffensionem et offensionem;" but in March 1517, King Charles or Mons. de Chièvres wished this clause to be expunged, and the matter was referred to Maximilian, though Spain subsequently refused to abide by his decision, and his hasty departure from Brussels was induced by this circumstance. What Henry VIII. said on the 8th of March 1517, about the proposed congress at Cambray having for object, at least on the part of the Emperor and the King of Spain, to partition the Venetian territory, is confirmed by the despatches of the ambassador at the court of Leo X., Marco Minio, who, writing from Rome in this same month of March, gives the news from Flanders, transmitted by the Papal nuncio, and which prove that the assertions made by Henry VIII. were not altogether inventions, though at the same time it does *not* appear that Francis I. by any means consented to betray his Venetian allies.

[2] Concerning "sack," or wines of Candia, see note in vol. i. p. 100, and note to next despatch, p. 46.

[3] The ambassador has already alluded to the manner in which Count Bortholamio Tationo spoke of the Venetians, at p. 33.

London, March 19, 1517.

In pursuance of the appointment lately made with the right reverend Cardinal, concerning the affair of the wines of Candia, I went to his right reverend lordship to state to him the rights of the case, showing the decree passed by the Privy Council here, and all the other proofs whereby I rendered it palpable to him that the demand of your Highness was perfectly just; and pointed out how on many accounts the taking off this duty would prove a source of profit to the most serene King; and having listened well to the whole, he told me he would take it into consideration,

and soon as he could find time, would despatch this business in conformity with justice, apologizing for that the stress of State affairs, had prevented his turning his mind to this matter. There subsequently reached me the letters from your Highness in date of the 14th ultimo, with the duplicates by way of France, concerning this matter, and also your missives of the same date whereby your Sublimity charges me to have it intimated to the merchants here, that after three months, the merchandise sent hence either by sea or land, will be bound to pay freight to the galleys which your Sublimity has put up for this voyage;[1] in accordance with which letters, I went to-day to the right reverend Cardinal, and explained their contents with reference to the wines of Candia, repeating all the arguments adduced heretofore, and showing him the articles in their own decree, which speak clearly in favour of your Sublimity; omitting nothing which could favour this case.[2] His lordship answered me most graciously that he would without fail expedite this business, but that it had occurred to him this could not be done without taking information from the Commons (*questi di la terra*), by whom the decree had been made, and also from the merchants; and that he would then endeavour to despatch this affair, as such was the wish of his Majesty, and that he must here make a distinction, for that in state affairs he should act with your Excellency as between friends and confederates, but that in this matter, he would do justice: to this I assented, saying, that your Sublimity desired nothing else, and arranged that he should attend to these matters at the end of next week, and I besought him to despatch at the same time certain other affairs appertaining to our nation.

After this conversation, his right reverend lordship inquired of me whether I knew any news about the affairs of

Italy; I told him nothing, save the advices received by me of the movements of the Duke of Urbino, ever making it appear, as is the truth, that your Excellency kept your hand off the board, and rather wished well to his Holiness than to the Duke Della Rovere, this appearing to me expedient for the interests of your Serenity on every account. He asked me what I heard about the resolve formed at this congress of Cambrai between these sovereigns: I told him I was not aware that they had yet met, but that were so to do shortly. He said to me laughing, "By God they will plot to your detriment!" and was then silent. I perceiving that his right reverend lordship did not continue, urged him to acquaint me with what he knew; whereupon he said, "I will tell you: when these sovereigns were talking together about forming a conspiracy against you for your ruin, the Emperor said to the King of France, '*How can you come in to this opinion against the Venetians, being their confederate and bound to aid them?*' to which said King made answer that he had entirely fulfilled his engagement, and had no longer any tie soever."

On my pressing to learn the truth of this, and asking whether he had this news from a trustworthy source, he told me it reached him from a good quarter. Having first begged pardon, I told him I suspected he had been misinformed by certain persons who sow discord to reap war; nor could I bring myself to a belief of such assertions, seeing the good faith with which his most Christian Majesty had reconsigned both Brescia and Verona to your Highness; when, should his object have been to deceive you, he might have negotiated this matter with the Emperor, more advantageously perhaps for himself than at this present; it seemed therefore unreasonable, especially as from no quarter—unless his right reverend lordship had received some very recent intelligence,—was it heard that these Kings had

yet met together.[3] He then rejoined, "At that time, the King of France was the Emperor's enemy; at this present he is his friend: when friends meet together many things are effected, which do not come to pass otherwise." As written by me heretofore, I am obliged to vouch for the good faith of his most Christian Majesty in such a manner, as not to induce enmity from this side, so I did not insist farther, but referred myself to the result, and with this I took leave of his right reverend lordship, who said to me, "I consider that I act in conformity with the friendship existing between yourselves and my most serene King, by acquainting you with whatever may prove to your detriment, for his Majesty and I wish you all prosperity, and rejoice thereat, regretting any mischance that may befall you;" adding many other fair words, for which I thanked his right reverend lordship in the name of your Excellency, and departed.

I have been told to-day, by a servant of your Signory, who hears many of the transactions of this side, even such as are secret, that 100,000 crowns have been sent hence lately to the Emperor,[4] and that they were going to send him some more, but my informant did not know for what purpose. I, however, believe neither this, nor the things aforesaid, and no argument can make me believe them * * *

[1] Whenever the Senate determined on sending galleys on any trading voyage, they were put up to auction at the Rialto, and the highest bidders, who were styled the *masters*, and accompanied them on their voyage, received the freight money out and home, paying the commodore and crews; and to secure for these galleys all the carrying trade, such goods as came from England to Venice within a given period after they had been put upon the berth, were bound to pay freight to the Venetian masters, even should they be conveyed in other bottoms. The commodore of the galleys here alluded to by the Venetian ambassador, was Andrea Priuli, and the volume containing his commission from Doge Loredano is now in my possession: it numbers 126 pages on vellum, and the frontispiece is illuminated in the style of Attavante; amongst its

contents is the amount of salary (600 golden ducats) to be paid to the commodore, and directions for the stowage of the freight, care of the tackle, &c., &c. Andrea Priuli arrived in England in May, 1518, and died of intermittent fever, at Hampton (Southampton), in the month of September following, as will be seen by the despatches of Sebastian Giustinian under those dates. In the month of July, 1505, the freight of merchandise conveyed by the Venetian galleys from England to Venice amounted to 17,000 ducats. (See Sanuto.)

[2] A note on the wines brought by the Venetian galleys has been inserted in vol. i. p. 100, and it is now necessary to add a brief account of the circumstances alluded to by the ambassador, showing that the decree was really such as he represented it. The supplies of malmseys, romeneis, sakkes, and wines of Tyre, were so abundant that the average price did not exceed 50*s.* per butt, and the proprietors of the wines were even willing to take two-thirds of their value in cloth, and only one-third in cash; besides which, these butts in the olden time were of such good measure, that before the days of Jack Cade (A.D. 1449) they often contained from 132 to 140 gallons, instead of 126. In the middle of the fifteenth century the popularity of malmsey was at its zenith in England; but the Venetian traders, who had converted the English to the true faith in wine, and given them overflowing measure, met with an ungrateful return, that is to say, they were paid with "deceitful cloth," concerning which, so far back as in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Richard II., A.D. 1389, it was thus enacted:—

"Forasmuch as divers plain cloths that be wrought in the counties of Somerset, Dorset, Bristol and Gloucester, be tacked and folded together and set to sale, of the which cloths a great part be broken, broused, and not agreeing in the colour, neither be according in breadth, nor in no manner to the part of the same cloths shewed outwards, but be falsely wrought with divers wools, to the great deceit, loss, and damage of the people, in so much that the merchants that buy the same cloths and carry them out of the realm to sell to strangers, be many times in danger to be slain, and sometimes imprisoned and put to fine and ransom by the same estrangers, and their said cloths burnt or forfeit, because of the great deceit and falsehood that is found in the same cloths when they be untacked and opened, to the great slander of the realm of England: it is ordained and assented, that no plain cloth tacked nor folded shall be set to sale within the said counties, but that they be opened, upon pain to forfeit them, so that the buyers may see them and know them, as it is used in the county of Essex; and that the workers, weavers, and fullers, shall put their seals to every cloth that they shall work, upon a certain pain to be limited by the justices of the peace; and that this ordinance begin to hold place at the feast of Saint John Baptist next following. Provided always, that after the merchants have bought the same cloths to carry, and do carry them out of the realm, they may tack them and fold them at their pleasure, for the more easy carriage of them."

Despite the efforts of the legislature, "deceitful cloth" continued to be sold long after the year 1389, so in 1469 (4th Edward IV.) another

act was passed hereon, similar to the foregoing, and the merchants of Venice at length, to avoid being slain for supplying genuine malmsey at the rate of 50*s.* per butt of 140 gallons to their English customers, declined taking our woollens in part payment. That they were justified in so doing can scarcely be denied, but to punish a whole nation for the crimes of the clothiers, by reducing the contents of the butt from 140 gallons to 108, may be questioned; at any rate the retributive vengeance of the pantaloons induced the following act of parliament, in the first of the reign of King Richard III. (1483), some six years after the Duke of Clarence had been privately drowned in "a but of malmesey in the Tower." The preamble to the act, instead of commencing—

"Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow,
I that was washed to death in fulsom wine,"

runs thus:

"An Act for the Contents of a Butt of Malmesey.

"To the Kinge oure Soveraigne Lorde.—Shewen unto your Highnesse, lamentably compleyning youre humble commens of this your present parliament assembled, in the name of theym self and of all your other humble commens of this youre honorable realme, that whereas huttes of wyne called maluesey were wont in greate plentee to be brought into this youre said realme to be sold before the 27th and 28th yeres of the reigne of Henry the Syxte, late in dede and not of right King of Englond, and also in the same yeres, and than divers of the buttes hilde in mesuare 140 galons apece, and divers hilde 132 galons apece, and the leste of theym hilde 126 galons apece, and than a man might bye and have of the merchaunte strangier seller of the said malueseys, by meane of the seid plentee of theym for 50*s.* or 53*s.* 4*d.* atte the most, a butte of such wyne, he takinge for his payment thereof 2 partes in wollen cloth wrought in this youre said realme, and the 3rd parte in redy money: It is so, Soveraigne Lorde, that by the sotell and crafty meanes of such persones straungiers as have the sale of suche wynes, the which have been made denizeins within this youre seid realme, have caused the butt of malueseys lateward brought into this your seid realme to be solde, for to be sore abregged and mynysshed of the said mesure so largely, that a butte of their malueseyes at this day scantly holdith in measure 108 galons; and besides that they knowinge as it semith what quantitie of such wyne may serve yerely to be solde within this youre said realme, where they were wont to brynge hider yerely greate quantite and plentevously of suche wyne to be solde after the prices aforeseid, of their craftynesse use to brynge no more hider nowe in late daies, but onely as wolle scantly serve this realme a yere; wherethurgh they have enhaunced the price of the same wynes to 8 marc a butte, redy money and no cloth, to the greate enrichyng of theym self and greate disceite, losse, hurt and damage of you Soveraigne Lorde and of all your comens of this your said realme; in consideracion of whiche hurtes and damages aforeseid, and for the reformacion of the same, please it youre Highnesse, of youre moost bountevous and benynge grace, by thadvise and

assent of youre lordes spuelx. and tempelx. and of youre comens in this youre present parliament assembled, for to ordeyngne, enacte, and establisshe in this youre present parliament, and by auctorite of the same, that no maner merchaunte nor other persone what so ever he be, from the fest of Seynt Mygell tharchaungell now next comynge, forthwarth brynge nor make to be brought in to this youre said realme eny butte of malvesey to be solde but if it hold in mesure atte the leste the seid olde mesure of 126 galons," &c., &c.

Besides the benefit derived by England from the introduction of malmsey, which thus superseded "*thin drink*;" the taste for sack induced our merchantmen to pass the gut of Gibraltar, then termed "the Streightes of Marrock," or "of Malaga," and to load wines for themselves on the Island of Candia. To this arrangement the Venetians for a while did not object, and besides sack, and sugar likewise, they supplied us with currants for our puddings from Cephalonia and from Zante, allowing these "creature comforts" to be conveyed to England indifferently, either on English or Venetian bottoms; but after the piteous complaint of the vintners, made in such a tone of injured innocence, touching the "sore abridgment" of their liquor and the "craftynesse" of the Venetians, the Signory, without alluding to the "deceitful cloth," quietly put on a duty of four ducats on every butt of wine shipped in foreign vessels from the Isle of Candia.

This new duty came into force in the year 1489, six years after the Malmsey Act, passed in the reign of King Richard III., and in the seventh of Henry VII. (A.D. 1491), was resented thus:

"An Act to paye Custome for every Butt of Malmesey.

"To the Kyng our Sovereyn Lord:

"Praien the Comens in this present parliament assembled, that *where of tyme that no mynd is*, your navie hath ben mayntened passing the Streittes of Marrokys and to divers portis in those parties to the universall increace of your seid navye, merchaunts, and maryners, and in especiall by ladyng of malmeseys in the port of Candy, which perteyneth to the lordship of Venice; where nowe the Veniciens within thies two yere last have made a statute and ordinaunce for the increace of the said lordship of Venice, and mayntenaunce of theymself and their navye and maryners, that noon of your seid navye nor maryners shuld lade in the seid porte of Candy any malmeseys to be conveyed into this youre realme of Englond, without that your said marchauntis paye a newe custume for every butte of malmesey so laden four dokatis of gold, which amounted to 18 shillings sterling money over and above all other custumes and charges afore that tyme used, which is greate hurte to youre seid beseechers, without speciall remedy be had by your noble and speciall grace: Please it, therefore, your moste habundant Grace, by thadvyce and assent of the Lordes spirituall and temporall, and of the Comens in this your present parliament assembled, and by auctorite of the same, to enacte and stablissh that from henceforth the malmeseys that shalbe brought in to this your realme of Englond by any persone shalbe of full gauge conteyning 120 and 6 galons at the lest in

mesure; and if it lacke of the seid gauge, that than the seller to abate somoche of the price after the rate of the seid content. And that every merchant straunger bringing suche malmeseys into this realme, shall pay to your Grace the custumes of eighteen shillings for a butte of malmesey over and above the custume afore tyme to your Grace used to be paied, likewise as they of Venice have sette in Candy uppon youre forseid subgiettis. And more over that it be inacted and stablisshed by thauctorite aforesaid, from hensforth that no butte or buttes of malmeseys, in vessell or in vessells that shalbe brought in to this your seid realme, shall be sold above 4*l.* sterling.

"*Provided* allwey that this Acte extend not to any Englissh man borne touching the newe custume above reherced of eighteen shillings. *And that this present Acte endure no lenger than they of Venice shall sette aside the imposicion of the payment of the* 4 *ducates aforeseid.*"

The desired effect was produced by this. "They of Venice" *did* set aside the imposition, and the fact was announced to Henry VII. by the Venetian Consul in London, Andrea Bragadino, in the month of June 1499, but the King (although in 1498 he had proposed to the Ambassador Trevisano to reduce the duty from three ducats to one) made answer that his subjects no longer cared about making voyages to Candia, and that he neither could nor would take off the duty, considering, apparently, that the diminution of the four ducats on exporting, was quite sufficient to annihilate "thin potations," and to secure a "good store of fertil malmsey" for his subjects at a reasonable rate.

Such was the state of the malmsey dispute on the arrival in England of Sebastian Giustinian; and to prove that the praises bestowed by Shakspeare on "sherris," had not yet utterly expelled the wines of Candia from England, when he was busy writing Anthony and Cleopatra, and Cymbeline, and Coriolanus, and Timon of Athens, and the Winter's Tale, it may be added that in the report of our country made to the Venetian Senate by Marc Antonio Correr, who had been ambassador at the court of King James I., from 1608 to 1611, is the following passage: "I succeeded, through the Earl of Salisbury, in relieving the merchants of Venice from an old grievance, on account of a certain duty extraordinary, whereto of yore the wines of Candia were subjected, concerning which, so long back as the year 1515, the noble Sebastian Giustinian, then ambassador in England, gave himself great trouble, but was compelled to leave the business unsettled; and at this present, a gentleman having obtained this monopoly as a gift from the King, brought an action against our subjects, who were on the point of being cast, and compelled to pay this duty, had it not been for the interference of his Majesty."

The duties on malmsies in England, when the repeal was effected by Correr, were probably much on the decline; the wine had been pronounced *fulsom* by Shakspeare; all his praises were engrossed by *fertil sherris*, and the consequence was, that malmsey became as unfashionable in the reign of James I., as *port* in that of George IV.

[8] See *ante*, note 2, p. 42.

[4] The intended congress at Cambray was evidently disagreeable to Cardinal Wolsey, and possibly this remittance was made for the purpose of inducing the Emperor not to attend it. At page 42 note has been made of the reasons assigned at Rome for the hasty journey of Maximilian to Cologne on the 31st of March; but the London news may also throw some light on the failure of this congress of Cambray, which was much talked of in Europe at the commencement of the year 1517.

London, March 31, 1517.

I every day perceive farther confirmation of the hollowness of the peace contracted between the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty, and on this account the interview which had been appointed between said Majesties has been put off; and should the disturbance of the peace be true—a fact for which I do not vouch—my belief is, that the cause is none other than these lords, who, as I have already informed you, remitted 100,000 crowns to the Emperor; nor may your Excellency doubt but that this side has done, and is doing all it can, to prevent union between the Emperor and the most Christian King; true is it that I am unable to learn matters in detail, for never did these lords act with so much secresy, or through fewer ministers than at present; though, God be praised, your Highness has obtained the greater part of your territory, and is so well allied, that you need apprehend but little from these conspiracies.

The letters received previously from your Highness in date of the 5th instant, with the summaries from Cyprus, I communicated forthwith to the right reverend Cardinal, who, on hearing the progress of the Turk, said, "Now is the time to invade him, occupied as he is against the Soldan, for we might indeed obtain Constantinople and a great part of his Empire." I, although aware that his right reverend

lordship never says what he means, but the reverse of what he intends to do, told him that this would be a most opportune moment, but that it would be requisite with all despatch to endeavour to unite the Christian powers and league them to this effect, discarding every other passion. He answered me that for this sole end were the King and himself labouring, although it had hitherto profited little; and that he would not cease pursuing this object; from which words, uttered by him, I imagine inadvertently, your Highness may comprehend his intentions, since it is evident that he has hitherto never exerted himself to any other effect than to sow discord between the princes aforesaid, as well known to your Signory. Moreover, I entered on the affair of the wines of Candia, and other national matters, which I will not detail here, to avoid confusion.

On the 29th instant, I went to his Majesty, who received me very well indeed, and I communicated to him the letter of your Highness, together with the aforesaid summaries, exhorting his Majesty to consider the imminent peril of the Christian religion, and seek the general peace, in order to extinguish this conflagration. He answered me that your Excellency was in great danger, and that the King of France would aid you, which he said with a smile, evidently meant to crush any hope your Highness might repose in the King aforesaid. I told him that the peril was general, although your Highness chanced to be the nearest to it, and that I trusted that not only his most Christian Majesty, but his Excellency likewise, would not fail preserving such a limb of the Christian commonwealth as your Highness, who in such perilous circumstances was not to be despised. His Majesty rejoined that he was remote from the danger, but that should he perceive the others to bestir themselves he also would do the like. Upon this, I said to him that of

this I did not doubt, by reason of his piety and religion, and that I, moreover, hoped the others would join, provided a general peace were effected. He made answer, "I do not wish for war with any one, unless provoked, and should cause not be given me, shall attack no one; had I been desirous of war, I should have done many things: other powers there are, who through war have obtained that which no other means could have procured them;" meaning, I fancy, to allude to your Signory. Whilst conversing thus, when a good opportunity presented itself, I told his Majesty that he was the most fortunate, and the most powerful, and the most pacific prince in the world, and that he ought not to endanger such great prosperity by committing it to chance, unless against the infidels, in which case he no longer dedicated himself to chance, but to the aid of God, who would not fail to prosper all his undertakings; and that for the completion of his glory, the only thing wanting was that he should effect some glorious feat against the infidels, thereby surpassing both the Emperor Theodosius and Charlemagne,[1] whose memories are yet celebrated. His Majesty graciously assured me that he would not fail in his duty, should others concur, and with this I took leave.

[1] The ambassador Giustinian had too much experience of human nature to have ventured on such gross flattery, unless sure that it would prove acceptable, though it would puzzle anybody to comprehend how Henry VIII., had he but purged Constantinople of the Turks, as Theodosius did of Arianism, would have resembled that Emperor in the rest of his career; nor does one exactly perceive how the first eight years of the reign of Henry VIII. warrant a comparison between him and Charlemagne.

London, March 31, 1517.

By the letters tied up herewith, your Sublimity will have seen that I had negotiated the affair of the wines of Candia with the right reverend Cardinal, to whom I spoke becomingly, showing him the letters of your Highness, and I made the Magnifico the Consul Lorenzo Pasqualigo, and D. Antonio Bavarino accompany me, they being well acquainted with the affairs of our nation, in order that should any fresh allegation be made me by his right reverend lordship, rendering farther information necessary, they might afford it. Having stated the case to him, and mentioned the contents of their decree, which stipulated that it was to remain in force so long as the one issued by your Highness which took off the duty of four ducats per butt, and adducing many other arguments bearing on this matter, in consequence of information received by me, his right reverend lordship told me that the decree passed by the Parliament no longer offered any impediment, as subsequently an agreement and compromise had been effected between the late most serene King and our merchants, for the payment of a noble per butt, in addition to the old customs. I, who had acquainted myself with this circumstance, answered him that no compromise soever had taken place, such as could invalidate the decree of the Parliament, for that when the late most serene King insisted on the payment of a noble per butt, besides the old customs, the case merely affected the interests of two individual merchants, to whose address a ship had arrived loaded with malmsies, who remonstrated to their utmost with the King, but were at length compelled to pay what his Majesty chose, considering it better to pay one noble or four ducats, rather than two nobles or eight ducats;[1] this payment therefore could not be construed into a compro-

mise authorizing an act prejudicial to our nation, which has in its favour, first, the ancient usage, according to which the malmsies neither paid these customs here of one noble, nor yet four ducats in Candia; add to which the act of Parliament contains a special clause, purporting that the duty of one noble was to be levied *so long as that of four ducats per butt remained in force in Candia:* then came the *repeal* by the Parliament, and I assigned many other reasons, which for the sake of brevity I do not write to your Highness; but his lordship told me that your Excellency had tacitly consented to this, having kept silence during this interval. I quoted to him in reply the wars, the tribulations, and other distresses of greater moment endured by you, disabling your Signory from providing for these minor matters, but that your Highness must not be supposed on this account to have consented.

His right reverend lordship having listened to these and other arguments, told me he would assemble the members of the Council,[2] who would lay before me the reason of his Majesty, to which his lordship said he was sure I should assent. I besought his lordship to allow me to be heard in person by those who were to decide this difficulty, as I was certain that they and his lordship would coincide with the opinion of your Highness. To this he assented, saying, that immediately after the holidays, he would send for me, that I might say what I chose, and that I also might hear the arguments of his Majesty, and thus bring this affair to a conclusion. I shall be ready to do my duty at the appointed time, and besides what I already know, will also endeavour to learn every other particular relating to this matter from the other merchants, doing whatsoever I may think expedient for the result, though I should tell your Highness that we are navigating both against wind and tide, as the right reverend Cardinal aspires and aims at nothing,

save to obtain profit for this Majesty, with whom he maintains himself in great repute. I shall see what his lordship may decide, and before the intended discussion of this matter, should I perceive him to dissent from my opinion, I will go to the King,[3] and state the reasons of your Excellency to his Majesty, who will deliberate, and then make his council decide as he may think fit, and I shall act thus because I consider that his Majesty is much more free and sincere in judging what is right than the Cardinal. The other affairs of our nation are also in difficulty, because his right reverend lordship would fain receive a considerable sum for consenting that the nation be placed on the same footing as of yore, under pretence that the privileges now demanded were obtained from the father of the present King on payment of a great deal of money, which ought in like manner to be contributed to his Majesty, in return for similar advantages, which arguments were met opportunely, nor will we fail to despatch these matters as desired, should the judge be one who chooses to follow truth and equity.

I said nothing more about the safe-conduct for the galleys, having been informed by my correspondents from Venice that your Excellency has taken the course of obtaining it direct from the Catholic King; and my belief in this is confirmed by the galleys having been put up, which would not have been done had you not received the safe-conduct, especially as I wrote in several of my letters, that perceiving matters in a bad state, as they then were here, I should not proceed in this business without farther orders.

[1] Meaning that as the merchants had received their wines from Candia free of the former duty of four ducats, which had been taken off A.D. 1499, they at any rate got their wine at a cheaper rate than would have been the case before the year 1499, though at the same time the fact of their adapting themselves to necessity could not fairly be adduced as an argument in favour of abrogating that treaty, by which Henry VII.

had promised, that as the Venetians had taken off the export duty, he would allow the importation into England of the malmsies without subjecting them to a charge of one noble per butt, which was levied *in addition* to the usual customs or excise to which other wines were subject.

[2] *Quelli del Conseio.* See *ante*, p. 32.

[3] We are here reminded of the words put into the mouth of the Duke of Buckingham by Shakspeare:

> *Buck.* I'll to the King,
> And from a mouth of honour quite cry down
> This Ipswich fellow's insolence, or proclaim
> There 's difference in no persons."

London, April 13, 1517.

Since my last, in date of the 31st ultimo, nothing else has chanced, owing to the Holy Week, in which his Majesty and the right reverend Cardinal have been occupied with Church ceremonies. To-day I went to pay my respects to his Majesty, to whom I communicated the letters of your Highness, dated the 7th ultimo, endeavouring to convince him that you had felt extreme satisfaction in the receipt of his Majesty's congratulations. The King listened to me very graciously, and said, in an under tone, "Know, as I told you heretofore, that in this peace made between the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain, they negotiated expressly against you" (which term, "*expresse*," he repeated full four times), "and this I have from one who was present, and who knows but he was a Frenchman." On my asking his Majesty who the sovereigns, or their agents, were, present at these negotiations,[1] he answered me, "All those who conspired against you at Cambray the last time; they all, or their agents, in making this peace, negotiated your ruin; the which peace, whether it has been formally signed, I know not—I fancy not; but be assured that all

these princes, should they be agreed about the peace, will also be agreed for your ruin; and I let you know that you are not the sole objects of this plot, for it moreover relates to the Switzers, whom said princes have determined by all means to annihilate, and I really much regret their entertaining this intention of destroying you. True is it that the Emperor, and the Catholic King, and I, are intent on frustrating this peace, and forming a confederacy which will be joined, moreover, by his Holiness; nor do I act thus for any other end, save the weal of the Christian commonwealth."

Eluding somewhat the reply which might have been made to what his Majesty said about the conspiracy against your Excellency, I thanked him in the strongest terms for the friendly demonstrations made towards your Highness, who, in truth, were you to credit words and gests, might rate these very highly, though I concede small belief either to his Majesty or to the right reverend Cardinal, and consider this blandishment devised for the purpose, which in your wisdom, your Highness will easily comprehend. As to the second part, about the new confederacy they are forming, I appeared to believe that they were contracting it to oppose the Turkish progress, and I lauded his Majesty for taking thought for the Christian undertaking, expatiating on the peril of those affairs. He made answer, "Domine Orator! you are sage, and of your prudence may comprehend, that no general expedition against the Turks will ever be effected so long as such treachery prevails amongst the Christian powers, that their sole thought is to destroy one another; and think how I could quit this kingdom, when such ill will is borne me by certain persons; nor, in like manner, would your lords venture on leaving their dominions." I told him I did not know how his Majesty and the other powers could

allow the Turk to prosper, as they might all be confident that, on the completion of his present undertaking, he would attack Christendom, when it would behove them do, on compulsion, and with more disadvantage, that which they might now compass of their own free will. He then again repeated to me that this was not only difficult but impossible; and as there has lately arrived here, one Friar Nicholas, a German,[8] the secretary of the right reverend Medici, who had been sent by his Holiness to the Emperor and to the Kings of France and Spain, and finally came hither, the cause of whose coming I did not feel sure of, although "the faithful friend" (Chieregato) had given me an account not entirely credited by me, I therefore made believe to the King that I had received letters from Rome, informing me that he had been sent to prevent the interview between the Emperor and the two Kings, and to counsel a league of all the powers against the Turks; and I said, "Your Majesty must have received information hereon from said Friar," and this I did, to learn for certain the cause of his coming. He made answer, that this Friar had not come to thwart the congress, but to exhort all these princes, and himself likewise, to the expedition against the Turks; adding, "Said Friar was present when they negotiated to destroy you and the Switzers." After this, he said to me, "Have you not an ambassador in France, and also with the Catholic King?" I told him that your Excellency had an ambassador in France, but not with the Catholic King, although one had been appointed, but had not yet reached the court; and he then expressed his surprise that your Excellency should not be informed of this treaty made against your Signory, exhorting you strongly to despatch your ambassador to the Catholic King, as from that quarter, you would receive better information concerning the nego-

tiations to your detriment, as part of the members of the Council are in favour of them, and part not, and that from one of the two sides, the ambassador of your Highness would learn everything; saying, "Write to him also to keep you advised,—for, in truth, I would not, that when writing this to the Signory, you should make mention of having it from me, as I might perhaps be suspected, on account of the King of France, but say you know it from others; and I really am only induced to give you this news, simply because I regret your destruction, and on account of the Christian commonwealth."

I thanked the King exuberantly for his good will towards the affairs of your Highness, assuring him that the like was entertained by your Sublimity with regard to those of his Majesty, whose prosperity and that of his kingdom you had not less at heart than the welfare of your own State, with many other expressions suited to this subject; but touching his not being mentioned to your Excellency as the author of this intelligence, as he would perhaps be suspected, on account of the King France, I told him that your Highness was aware of being so lovingly looked on by his Majesty, that it was impossible for his words to be suspected; and, that on the contrary, they would be deemed replete with all love and benevolence, a fact which caused your Highness to become daily more devoted to his Majesty, and with this I took leave. Your Excellency must know, that before I spoke to the King, I had been informed by "the faithful friend" of the cause of the coming of the aforesaid Friar, for they dined together, and he communicated the whole to him, assigning two reasons,—first, to hinder the congress; and secondly, to form a general league against the Turks. I have also been told by the "friend" aforesaid that a confidential secretary of the right reverend Cardinal's said to

him, "Our masters here are incessantly plottting confederacies and frauds, but never effect anything;" expressing himself, as it were, with indignation, which is confirmed to me by the language of the King, who said that a confederacy was now being negotiated, which would, moreover, be joined by his Holiness, who, having lately received an urgent letter of complaint from his Majesty, had answered him by a long brief, full of such gracious and submissive language, that it seems to have placed the holy chair beneath him, but little to the dignity of his Holiness: and on my inquiring what cause had induced him so to do, the "friend" replied, that the Pope was aware he had displeased the Emperor by not making any demonstration when he came into Italy, whereas for the King of France he did his utmost.[3] He had also offended, he said, the most Christian King and your Signory, by having ever kept the Lord Marc Antonio Colonna and his troops in Verona during the siege;[4] that the Catholic King on his part considered himself aggrieved by the offence offered to the Emperor; and that the King of England was extremely dissatisfied with his Holiness, both for having scorned his league, and deprived the right reverend Cardinal of the see of Tournai,[5] and appointed others in his stead; on which accounts, considering himself deserted by every one, the Pope has chosen to reconcile himself to his Majesty. Another cause is, that the Pontiffs are ever wont to be disquieted by conferences between the great powers, as the first thing they discuss in such interviews is the reformation of the Church, that is to say, of the Pope and Cardinals; and on this account, said Holiness has dissolved the session of the Council[6] in such wise that it will not sit again; and the conference being ended, nothing more can be discussed at this Council, and it would be requisite to convene a fresh one, which requires much time.

Item, said "friend" assured me that Friar Schomberg received two commissions to conclude this league, and in fact three couriers arrived here from Rome within two or three days of each other. The Friar has departed on his way to the Catholic King, his Majesty of France, and the Emperor, and is to return here shortly.

I also inform your Excellency that the truces between Scotland and this kingdom have been entirely arranged, the difficulties having consisted in the return of the Queen, and in her having the administration of the kingdom, as also in the number of English by whom she was to be accompanied, and from mention having been made of her liability to punishment should she plot against the realm. It is now settled that she is to return, and will be honoured as Queen, but not admitted to the administration of the kingdom; that she may take with her twenty-four Englishmen, and as many Scotch as she pleases, provided they be not rebels; and that only the agents in any plot shall be amenable to punishment, no mention being made of the Queen, because it is *contra dignitatem Regiam.* Of these facts I have been assured by the secretary of the most illustrious Duke of Albany, who seems to put great trust in me, and I have received very loving letters from him.

[1] Guicciardini, vol. iii. p. 206, writes that Mons. de Chièvres went to Cambray on behalf of Charles of Spain, whilst Francis I. was represented there by the Lord Steward, Gouffier de Boissi, and by the Finance Minister, Florimond Robertet. Guicciardini does not give the name of the diplomatist who attended on behalf of Maximilian, but in a despatch from the Venetian ambassador at Rome (No. 12, date 26th February), it is stated on the authority of the French ambassadors, that the name of the Imperial envoy who went to Cambray in March, 1517, was *Filniger*, (*sic*).

[2] Namely, the Dominican monk, Nicholas Schomberg, one of the most able diplomatists of his time, and whose influence over the Cardinal de Medici continued when he became Pope Clement VII., for in date of the year 1525, Guicciardini writes that he was revered and almost feared

by his sovereign, and that he was a disciple of Savonarola's. Guicciardini also mentions that in this year 1517, Leo X. sent him to the King of Spain to prevent the interview between the three Kings at Cambray, lest it might prove prejudicial to the interests of the house of Medici. From the Minio despatches I gather that Friar Nicholas had been residing at the court of Maximilian, and on this account the French Cabinet very much resented his mission to England, as here recorded by Sebastian Giustinian.

Schomberg was a man of letters as well as a statesman, and according to Bayle, the nun whom Martin Luther married was said to have been his cousin. Nicholas Schomberg was travelling for his pleasure at the age of five-and-twenty, when chancing to hear Savonarola preach at Pisa, he determined on turning monk, and became procurator-general of the convent of St. Mark's in Florence; and when filling this post, delivered at Rome, or elsewhere, in the presence of Pope Julius II., five sermons on the tempting of the Saviour, which obtained very great renown for him; and on the accession of Leo X., that pontiff appointed him one of the theologians in the schools "*della sapienza*," and availed himself of his services at the Council of the Lateran. Schomberg was made Cardinal by Pope Paul III., A.D. 1535, May 20, and died in 1537, his remains being interred in the church of Santa Maria supra Minerva at Rome.

[3] This alludes to the conference at Bologna in December, 1515. See *ante*, p. 168, vol. i.

[4] The presence of Marc Antonio Colonna is mentioned in the despatch of Sept. 22, 1516; and as he was a Papal subject, the Pope certainly might have recalled him; but as he received his pay from the Emperor, and the Condottieri fought for whom they pleased, Leo X. could not fairly be held accountable for this accident.

[5] Hume, quoting Polydore Virgil (who was in prison when Sebastian Giustinian arrived in England, as seen by the letters published by Roscoe), mentions that Francis I. had refused to oust the bishop elect of Tournai, as requested by Cardinal Wolsey, and Louis Gaillart obtained a bull for his settlement in that see. Concerning Tournai, the Venetian ambassador writes from Rome in date of 17th April, 1517, that the French ambassador there, when speaking of the military preparations in France, implied that they were destined against Tournai, and that Henry VIII. was very much in the wrong, for that even were it not inserted in the articles of the agreement, he nevertheless swore that on the consummation of the marriage of the Princess Maria to Louis XII., his brother-in-law should be put in possession of that city. This, whether true or not, was the assertion of Brissonet, Bishop of St. Malo.

[6] In the Minio despatch No. 29, details are given of the closing of the Council of the Lateran on the 16th of March, 1517, when it was announced, amongst other reasons for its being no longer necessary, that many things had been *reformed* in the Church; little did Leo X. then anticipate how much more *reformation* the Church was then on the eve of undergoing.

London, April 23, 1517.

On receipt of the last letter from the State, I went to the right reverend Cardinal, with whom I found the reverend Bishop of Durham, and communicated to them the news of the Turkish Armada, urging them to beware of the imminent peril which threatened Christendom. His lordship evinced extreme regret at these things, saying, one ought to make some provision for this, and I answered in conformity, but for the sake of brevity will not go into details. He then turned the conversation, inquiring of me whether I had any other news, and on my assuring him that I had nothing else, his lordship said, laughing, that I must tell him what I knew, as he doubted not but that I must be acquainted with something besides. I vowed most positively that nothing else had reached me, and he then exclaimed, "What! do you not know that the ambassadors of these potentates, namely, the Emperor, France, and Spain, have been in Cambray, and discussed an union, and that the King of France excluded you? This shows how he treats you, and the worth of his friendship." I told him that I had no intelligence to this effect, and that on the preceding day I had received letters from our ambassador in France, making no mention soever hereof. He rejoined, "Such, however, is the case, and the ambassadors aforesaid conferred together, and discussed peace and union; and that you were to be excluded, nor did the French ambassadors mention you as any party to it." I told him that I was very much surprised, and that should this be the case, I imagined it must proceed from some other cause than ill-will, as our faith and works had not deserved such treatment: thus I despatched the topic in few words, both to avoid dispute, and also because, from my experience of his right reverend lordship, I did not

believe what he said. I then brought forward the matter of the wines, when his lordship told me he was tired, from the quantity of business he had transacted, but that he had arranged for the assembly of the Council,[1] and would summon me likewise, so as to settle the business, though no particular day was fixed, as he could not bind himself. I, however, besought his right reverend lordship with all earnestness to exert himself for this settlement, in order that the galleys might be despatched, and the merchants be enabled to order their shipments for this voyage, as of yore.

This being the festival solemnized by the Knights of St. George's Garter, I went to the King, and when the ceremony was over after dinner, I presented myself to his Majesty, and communicated to him the news from the East. He replied, that he had received advices of a contrary nature from Rhodes and Scio,[2] and knew he was not deceived, purporting that his armada had merely been fitted out because Sultan Selim is hemmed in by his enemies, and is aware that he can only escape by sea from Alexandria, where his fleet assembled after the conquest of Egypt. I answered his Majesty, that according to the advices received previously, and which I had communicated to him, he was informed that the Turk was in very great force, and on his march towards Cairo, where the Soldan was ready to give him battle; but that no engagement had taken place of a nature warranting its being said that Sultan Selim was compelled to come by sea; though it seems that he ordered this fleet, both for the sake of having the necessary supplies for his army, and also in case of his proving victorious, that he might employ it in the way stated in my advices; though at the same time, I expressed my belief that it was also destined for the purpose mentioned by his Majesty, in the

event of his being routed, which would to God he were. The King repeated his assertion, saying he was sure of it, and that from the Turk there was little to fear, but that more might be dreaded from bad Christians. With regard to dreading the Turk, I rejoined as appeared expedient to me; but at this present, events which are not desired are not credited; and when I was in the act of taking leave, his Majesty said, "I will communicate the following to you:—Know that I have this day received letters, announcing that the peace between the Catholic King and me is concluded, the other (which was formed with France) being utterly dissolved, King Francis having already commenced doing all the mischief he could through the Duke of Guelders.[3]"

I thanked his Majesty for the communication, and asked him whether the Emperor was included in this peace, and he said not yet, but that he would be soon. I also inquired about his Holiness, whereupon he replied, "*Pontifex est meus*, and I shall also have the Switzers." In order to bow to what I know is the intention of your Signory, I said, "We may now hope for a general peace, and that the expedition against the Turks may be effected, seeing that the majority is united." His Majesty answered me, "I told you, heretofore, not to imagine such a thing possible, whilst the throne is filled by one utterly faithless, who boasts of meaning to do that which is far from his thoughts, all for the sake of obtaining money and realizing his schemes." I told him, that should his Majesty choose to turn his mind to this, I thought all the powers would concur, as I considered his the principal part in this undertaking. He rejoined, "I tell you that I cannot trust any one, for each endeavours to deceive his fellow; nor do I see that there is any faith in the world, save in me, and therefore God Almighty, who knows this, prospers my affairs. Do you not perceive that the

potentates first make peace and confederacy with a State, and then negotiate its destruction with others" (implying that the most Christian King was plotting against your Highness); "how, said he, would you possibly have me place reliance?" After much more to this effect, he added, placing his hand on my shoulders, and laughing,[4] "I know, that now you have got your territory, you don't care for these things; but only thank God that you are out of great danger!"

In this strain he continued talking, censuring the treachery of others, and lauding his own loyalty; whereupon I told him that I doubted not but that the faith and religion of his Majesty, coupled with his other virtues, caused him to prosper, and that thus did I pray it might be for the future; and in like manner did I hope that through the virtues aforesaid, he would arrive at some general peace and confederacy against the common enemy, to which effect I knew his authority would avail much." His Majesty said, "I am unable to do more than can be effected by a single Sovereign; I am only King of England; I cannot command others." I told him that his Majesty was aware that a candle emitted a flame proportioned to the candle, but diffused its light far away;[5] and in like manner the authority of his Majesty was available beyond his realms, and well nigh all over Christendom. He repeated that he would all were as loyal and sincere as he is; and much having been said hereon, I thanked his Majesty for the communication made to me, he in like manner returning thanks to your Excellency for your announcement, and I took leave.

This, most serene Prince, is as much as has taken place hitherto. Your Sublimity perceives the allusions I make to this general union and crusade, under the impression that your Sublimity sends me these Turkish advices to prepare the matter. Should your Highness object to my

acting in this business according to what I fancy I know, I beseech you to announce to me your will, for I dare not venture far from the shore without the rudder of your Highness, who should be pleased to acquaint me with your intention; that is to say, whether I am to continue thus, touching on the topic adroitly, or, to expatiate thereon, and make a decided effort; as in the former case my tactics would be of one sort, and in the latter of another. I am solely intent on being enabled to do what may prove to the advantage and profit of the most excellent Signory—do your Highness not be chary of communicating to me your object.

Augustin Coppo,[6] who is well known to your Serenity, died the other day in Flanders, whither he is said to have gone for the performance of some great exploit.[7]

[1] Posto ordine *quelli del Conseglio* convenisseno, (see *ante*, Feb. 10th.)

[2] Probably through the English Knights of Rhodes, whose Superior or Prior in England was Sir Thomas Dockwra. See pp. 93-4, vol. i.

[3] In a despatch from the Venetian ambassador at Rome, No. 85, date 22nd July, 1517, it is stated that Adolphus, Duke of Guelders, the same who after many struggles was compelled in 1528 to cede his duchy to Charles V., was in the month of May, 1517, on the contrary, making head against Maximilian, and occupying the whole of Friesland.

[4] Dandome de la mano sopra le spalle.

[5] The words in the original are "Che una candella facea fiamma conveniente a la candella, ma ben diffundeva el suo splendor luntano." The thought is expressed in English by Shakspeare in "The Merchant of Venice," in the last scene at Belmonte, where he makes Portia say,

> "That light we see is burning in my hall:
> How far that little candle throws his beams!
> So shines a good deed in a naughty world."

[6] The little that is known about Augustin Coppo may be seen at p. 32, vol. i, and from that little it may be guessed that the "great exploit" which death prevented his performing in Flanders, was some act of violence or bloodshed, such, perhaps, as kidnapping or murdering the Cardinal of Sion, who, as stated at p. 321, vol. i. was liable to be waylaid; and possibly Coppo thought that had he secured the person of one who had shown himself so bitter an enemy to the State, the Council of Ten would have repealed the sentence of outlawry under which he was yet suffering in 1517, despite the intercession made in his favour by Leo X. with the Signory in February, 1515.

[7] The very day before this letter was written, the Venetian secretary, Sagudino, from whose autograph copies these translations are made, wrote to the Archbishop of Malmsey. His letter has been printed in the correspondence of Erasmus (edition Leyden, 1703, folios 1601-1603), and its object was to congratulate the bishop on his appointment, but regretting his consequent departure from Venice. This archbishop was the famous Greek scholar, Marco Musuro, of whom mention is made in the life of Leo X. by Roscoe; and it is remarkable that neither he nor his invidious commentator Bossi should have quoted this printed epistle in aid of their researches concerning the precise moment when Musuro obtained his see. It may also be added that both one and the other have blundered in supposing that Musuro succeeded Rali in this bishopric, seeing that Musuro died at Rome on the 25th October, 1517, and that Leo X. then gave the see to Rali, as mentioned in a despatch of Marco Minio, the Venetian ambassador at Rome.

Sagudino, in his letter written from London to the Archbishop of Malmsey on the 22nd of April, 1517, mentions the recent arrival in England of Erasmus, and that their literary society (consisting, doubtless, of the ambassador Giustinian, More, Chieregato, Pace, Tonstal, Ammonius, and Lineacre) exerted itself strenuously, "*ne dies ullus musis vacuis dilabatur.*"

Richmond, May 5, 1517.

Since my last, I, together with this Magnifico the Consul Pasqualigo, and Dom. Antonio Bavarino, went to the right reverend Cardinal concerning the renewal of the patents, which expired seven years ago, so as to be enabled to form contracts on the usual terms. We spoke with his right reverend lordship, who desired that one of the royal secretaries might be sent for, in order to discuss the matter and despatch it. The difficulty consists in his insisting on the payment of some three hundred pounds sterling, as given to the present King's father, whereas we never would consent to disburse anything, but merely pay for the deeds and stamps. I know not how it will end. I afterwards commenced discussing the affair of the wines of Candia, and

his lordship told me that he had arranged for those of the Parliament[1] who made the decree, which is our strongest point, to confer with me and discuss this matter. I imagine that this is rather with a view to raise some difficulty, which, by reason of the manifest right on our side, he is ashamed of putting forward himself, than from any intention of proceeding according to justice. I, however, being thoroughly acquainted with the subject, will not allow the cause of your Highness to perish, should I have to deal with such as may choose to do justice, for I can, indeed, persuade by arguments, but am powerless to compel by force. I hope the business will be speedily despatched, and shall endeavour that the result prove favourable. And I am of opinion that it would already have been settled, had there not intervened a fresh perilous matter, and of a very bad nature—namely, that after Easter a certain preacher, at the instigation of a citizen of London, preached as usual in the fields, where the whole city is in the habit of assembling with the magistrates, and commenced abusing the strangers in the town, and their mode of life and customs, alleging that they not only deprived them of their industry, and of the emoluments derivable thence, but disgraced their dwellings, taking their wives and daughters; adding much other exasperating language, persuading and exhorting them not to suffer or permit this sort of persons to inhabit their town, by which means he so irritated the populace that from that day they commenced threatening the strangers that on the 1st of May they would cut them to pieces and sack their houses.[2]

Perceiving this bad feeling to increase daily, and the minds of the people to become inflamed, I said a few words hereon to the right reverend Cardinal, who told me he would make provision against any accident on that day, as I

believe he did. On the last day of April, indeed, I was warned of many threats, emanating from the populace, and witnessed many acts of violence perpetrated by them; so I thought fit, for the benefit and security of our nation, to come here to Richmond, the actual residence of the King, whom I went to see, and stated the matter to him, placing before his eyes the peril to which all foreigners were exposed. His Majesty listened to me graciously, promising to take every precaution, and the next night having received news that the Londoners were in arms, and committing great outrage upon the strangers, he got up at midnight, and took the field with a good number of persons, and sent messengers to London announcing his coming with a large army; though, in reality, he never quitted Richmond.

The fact was, that on the night preceding the first of May, the London apprentices, who are articled servants of English merchants and artizans, with a number of bandits (*sic*), amounting in all to 2,000, rose, and went to divers parts of the city inhabited by French and Flemish artificers and mechanics, whose houses they sacked, and wounded many of them, though it is not understood that any were killed. They next proceeded to the dwelling of his Majesty's French secretary,[3] which they sacked, doing very great damage there, and had he himself not escaped up the belfry of the adjoining church, they would have cut him to pieces; they also sacked a number of houses of French artificers in the neighbourhood of his residence. They next went to the houses of the Florentine, and Lucchese, and Genoese merchants, whom they insulted; but, as said dwellings were well supplied with men and arms and artillery, they could not do them any harm. Against the houses of the Venetians, on the contrary, no demonstration was made, as they

have ever comported themselves with so much equity and decorum, that there was no wishing to harm them. The house of the Spanish ambassador likewise received some insult, but not of importance; my dwelling, by the grace of God, was guarded and preserved like a church, some of my cordial friends who visit me there daily, having had it at heart.

Much greater mischief and bloodshed would have taken place, had precautionary measures not been adopted beforehand, I believe by the right reverend Cardinal, who was forewarned, and also by the other lords, who on that night came with a considerable force, and by several roads, to the city, where they found the gates closed by these seditious ribalds, in order that they might wreak their ill will on the strangers in the town, having overpowered the forces of the Lord Mayor and the other City magistrates in such wise that they compelled them to have the gaols opened and to release their prisoners. The Lord High Admiral of the royal fleet,[4] who came with a number of troops, entered the city by force, and had another gate opened, outside which was the most illustrious the Duke of Norfolk, his father; and having come in with their forces, they moreover admitted my Lord of Burgundy[5] and other lords. Every necessary provision was now made, and about seventy of these ribalds being captured, twelve of them regarded as ringleaders have been already condemned to death; the others, it is probable, will be consigned to the like fate to-morrow. Amongst the prisoners is the very man who instigated the preacher, and the preacher himself, who will receive the deserts of his iniquity. According to report, there are now in London in the King's name from 4,000 to 5,000 men in armour, so that these ribalds will not be able to vent their ill will; though, so great is their

malignity, that what they are unable at this present to do themselves, for fear of death, is done by their women, who evince immense hatred towards all strangers. This has been a great commotion, but the terror was greater than the harm done; though there is no doubt, that unless strong measures had been adopted in time, not a single house of the strangers would have escaped, and their property would have been sacked and themselves cut to pieces. Praised be God!

I have chosen to write this, in order that your Highness may know what really took place, and because I am certain that others will write differently, and perhaps give an exaggerated account of the circumstances.[6]

[1] "*Parlamento*" here must be used in its etymological or general sense, as the Parliament of England did not sit in the whole period from December 22nd, 1515, to April 15th, 1523 (see Statutes of the Realm, vol. iii. fol. 197.) The council meant by Giustinian was probably that which sat in the Lord Treasurer's chamber, next to the Star Chamber. See note to despatch dated 10th February

[2] The account of the "Evil May Day" given by Hume, is taken from Stow, who was not born till about the year 1525, and is as follows:—

"The foreign artificers in general much surpassed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality, and hence the violent animosity which the latter on many occasions expressed against any of the former who were settled in England. They had the assurance to complain that all their customers went to foreign tradesmen; and in the year 1517, being moved by the seditious sermons of Dr. Bele, and the intrigues of Lincoln, a broker, they raised an insurrection.

"The apprentices and others of the poorer sort in London began by breaking up the prisons, where some persons were confined for insulting foreigners. They next proceeded to the house of Meutas, a Frenchman much hated by them, where they committed great disorders, killed some of his servants, and plundered his goods. The mayor could not appease them, nor Sir Thomas More, late under-sheriff, though extremely respected in the city. They also threatened Cardinal Wolsey with some insult, and he thought it necessary to fortify his house and put himself on his guard. Tired at last with these disorders, they dispersed themselves, and the Earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey seized some of them. A proclamation was issued, that women should not meet together to babble and talk, and that all men should keep their wives in their houses: next day the Duke of Norfolk came into the City at the head of thirteen

hundred armed men, and made inquiry into the tumult. Bele and Lincoln, and several others, were sent to the Tower, and condemned for treason: Lincoln and thirteen more were executed. The other criminals, to the number of four hundred, were brought before the King with ropes about their necks, fell on their knees, and cried for mercy. Henry knew at that time how to pardon; he dismissed them all without further punishment."

We thus learn that the name of the preacher here alluded to by the Venetian ambassador was Bele, and that the person styled by him a London citizen, was the broker Lincoln. I have never met with any contemporary account of this insurrection by *foreigners*, besides this one by Giustinian, and that of his secretary Sagudino, which will follow it; and both appear to me to form an amusing supplement to Hall, who, amongst other things, writes:—

"Evil May Day, 8 Henry VIII. In this season the Genowayes, Frenchmen, and other straungers, sayde and boasted them selfes to be in suche favour with the Kyng and hys counsayll, that they set naughte by the rulers of the citie: and the multitude of straungers was so great aboute London, that the poore Englishe artificers coulde skace get any lyvynge; and moost of all the straungers were so proude that they disdayned, mocked, and oppressed the Englishmen, whiche was the beginnynge of the grudge. For amonge all other thynges there was a carpenter in London called Willyamson, whiche bought two stockdoves in Chepe, and as he was aboute to paye for them, a Frencheman took them oute of hys hande, and sayde they were not meate for a carpenter. 'Well,' sayde the Englishman, 'I have bought them, and now payd for them, and therefore I will have them:' 'Naye,' sayde the Frencheman, 'I will have them for my lorde the ambassador,' and so for better or worse, the Frencheman called the Englisheman knave, and went awaye with the stockdoves. The straungers came to the Frenche ambassadour, and surmysed a complaynte agaynste the poore carpenter, and the ambassadour came to my Lorde Mayre and sayde so much, that the carpenter was sent to pryson; and yet, not contented with this, so complayned to the Kynge's counsail, that the Kynge's commandement was layde on hym. And when Syr Jhon Baker, Knyght, and other worshipfull persones, sued too the ambassadour for hym, he answered, by the body of God that the English knave shoulde lose his lyfe, for he sayde no Englisheman shoulde deny that the Frenchemen required, and other answer had they none.

"Also a Frencheman had slayne a man. Howbeit the Frenchmen were not alonely oppressors of the Englishemen, for a Lombarde called Fraunces de Bard, entised a manne's wyfe in Lombarde Strete to come to his chambre with her husbande's plate, whiche thynge she dyd. After, when her husbande knewe it, he demaunded hys wyfe, but aunswer was made he shoulde not have her; then he demaunded his plate, and in lyke maner aunswer was made that he shoulde neither have plate nor wyfe. And when he had served an accion agaynste the straunger in the Guylde hall, the straunger so faced the Englisheman

that he faynted in hys sute. And then the Lombarde arrested the poore man for his wyfe's boorde, while he kept her from her husband in his chamber. This mocke was much noted, and for these and many other oppressions done by them, there encreased suche a malice in the Englishe mennes hartes, that at the last it brast oute." * * *

[3] This was evidently *Meutas*, whose employment in the service of Henry VIII. seems to have been unknown to Stow.

[4] Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, who eventually became third Duke of Norfolk, was created Lord Admiral on the death of his brother, Lord Edward, who, on the 25th of April, 1513, perished in the attempt at Brest; "whereupon Lord Thomas, bringing the fleet out of harbour, so scoured the seas as not a fisherboat of the French durst adventure forth." (See Collins, vol. i. p. 85.)

[5] In the original, Monsignor di Borgogna, which is nearest in sound to the title of *Buckingham*. According to all accounts of Evil May Day, however, the person meant ought to be George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.

[6] Amongst the accounts given, as anticipated, of these occurrences, is one by Sagudino, Giustinian's secretary, which, however, does not appear to be exaggerated, and is so interesting that it may here be transcribed as we find it in the MS. diaries of Sanuto, vol. xxiv. folio 343.

"Summary of a letter from England written by Nicolo Sagudino, the secretary of our ambassador, dated the 19th of May, 1517, addressed to Alvise Foscari, son of the late Nicolo.

"How on the 5th inst. he gave notice of the insurrection, since when, however, the most severe example was made of some twenty of the delinquents, owing to which the populace here, both men, women, and children, had recourse to threats and blows most outrageously; and, amongst the rest, they wounded two of our servants, since which matters have been quieted better than was expected, and subsequently not a single outrage has been heard of. On the contrary, so far as concerns himself (the secretary), whom it behoves frequent the palaces of the right reverend Cardinal and the nobility, greater honour is paid him, and more way made for him than before, though their ill-will does not subside, and there are those who eye him askance, but he trusts in God nothing further will come of it; he shuns every opportunity calculated to induce any dissension, and has determined to remain within doors as much as he can, until the desired day arrives for returning home. The King having lately exercised such rigorous justice, thought fit moreover to display his extreme clemency by pardoning the rest of those concerned in this conspiracy, and came one day to a place distant half a mile hence, with his court in excellent array, the right reverend Cardinal being there likewise with a number of lords, both spiritual and temporal, with their followers, in very gallant trim; and his Majesty being seated on a lofty platform, surrounded by all those lords, who stood, he caused some four hundred of these delinquents, all in their shirts and barefoot, and each with a halter round his neck, to be brought before him; and on their presenting themselves before his Majesty, the Cardinal implored him aloud to pardon

them, which the King said he would not by any means do; whereupon said right reverend Cardinal, turning towards the delinquents, announced the royal reply. The criminals, on hearing that the King chose them to be hanged, fell upon their knees, shouting 'Mercy!' when the Cardinal again besought his Majesty most earnestly to grant them grace, some of the chief lords also doing the like, so at length the King consented to pardon them, which was announced to these delinquents by said right reverend Cardinal with the tears in his eyes; and he made them a long discourse, urging them to lead good lives, and comply with the royal will, which was, that strangers should be well treated in this country, adding many other expressions hereon; and when the Cardinal told them this, that the King pardoned them, it was a fine sight to see each man take the halter which hung from his neck and throw it in the air, and they jumped for extreme joy, making such signs of rejoicing as became their escape from such peril. It was a very fine spectacle and well arranged, and the crowd of people present was innumerable.

"The mischief was not very great, though it would have been immense had provision not been made; and especially as, according to report, no strangers were killed, these people cannot bear that forty of their countrymen should have been so cruelly hanged and quartered: at the City gates one sees nothing but gibbets and the quarters of these scelerats, so that it is horrible to pass near them. God be praised that the affair has passed off more tranquilly than was anticipated from so sudden an hurricane.

"He writes that he would fain be here.

"He remained ten days at Richmond with the ambassador, and in the evening they enjoyed hearing the King play and sing, and seeing him dance, and run at the ring by day, in all which exercises he acquitted himself divinely. Monsignor Dionisio Memo was there, and at his request the King made them listen to a lad who played upon the lute, better than ever was heard, to the amazement of his Majesty, who never wearies of him, and since the coming of this lad, Zuan Piero is not in such favour as before, and complains, and is quite determined on returning into Italy *sane bene peculiatus*, and he does wisely.

"Said Master Dionysius has composed a very fine vocal quartet, entitling it,

'Memor esto verbi tui
Servo tuo perpetuo
In quo mihi spem dedisti.'

This he was to play to the King, giving him the words, whence one may easily comprehend his wish: he will not fail him."

Richmond, May 9, 1517.

* * * Owing to the precautions taken, the execution of some twenty of the delinquents, and the issue of proclamations threatening the lives and property of those who shall molest strangers, these tumults in London have ended better than was expected: nor will I omit adding this—that on the very day of the riot there arrived in London an ambassador from the most serene King of Portugal,[1] a very illustrious person according to report, and who, together with his attendants, was attacked by these seditious ribalds, so that he had difficulty in escaping with his life; and hereon he apparently made great complaints—though he has really no cause for such—against his Majesty or the Privy Council. Said ambassador will have audience here at Richmond to-morrow, whither the right reverend Cardinal and many of these lords have betaken themselves on this account. I shall endeavour to learn his errand, and will see to arranging with the Cardinal aforesaid about the despatch of the affair of the wines, and of the patents for the merchants, concerning which it has been impossible to do anything, owing to these disturbances; but to-morrow, or next day, I think of returning to London, and will act as I know is the intention of your Sublimity.

[1] It was in this year that Emmanuel the Fortunate obtained permission from the Chinese to trade with them, and to build a town at Macao, twenty leagues from Canton. The trade between Portugal and England was already considerable, and at the close of the year 1503 there were as many as five Portuguese barks in the Thames, with 380 tons of spices from Colocut, much to the regret of the Venetian galleys under the command of the Commodore Pesaro, which were off Falmouth at the same time, and of course wished Vasco di Gama and the Cape passage out of existence.

London, May 12, 1517.

My last were from Richmond on the 9th instant, whereby your Excellency will have learnt the result of the insurrection of these English, and the execution of the delinquents, which are not yet ended, the proceedings against them continuing according to their demerits.* I am returned to London, and found things were quieted again, but I do not know whether the fear of punishment will suffice to repress the audacity of these people, considering the hatred which they bear to strangers.

I wrote to your Highness that the ambassador of the most serene King of Portugal was to come to Richmond, there to have audience of his Majesty and these lords, whereupon I went to the court, and on his coming, I met him with every demonstration of good will and honour, apologizing to his Lordship for not having visited him in London, by reason of my having come to Richmond on account of the insurrection. He greeted me very graciously, and recognised me, before I addressed him, as the Venetian ambassador, I imagine from my appearance; and having drawn aside, I stated to him the very ancient friendship which had ever prevailed between your Signory and Portugal, and the respect entertained by your Excellency towards his present Majesty and his predecessors, reminding him of the good fellowship and harmony enjoyed by our nation in Portugal, and by his *e converso* in Venice, and of many offices reciprocated by either State; adding a variety of other expressions, tending to our mutual good-will. His Magnificence answered me very respectfully and lovingly, confirming what I had said, and reminding me that, whenever in his power, his Majesty of Portugal had always shown himself friendly towards your Highness, in confir-

mation of which, he quoted the Armada sent by Portugal in favour of your Excellency against the Turks,[1] and other friendly offers of which your Highness might have availed yourself in divers cases of need. But, he continued, since his Majesty aforesaid commenced the Indian voyages, your Excellency had been hostile to him, giving succour and counsel to the Soldan (according to report) against his Majesty; although, all things well considered, your Signory had no reason for so doing, notwithstanding the great detriment which this caused you, and he expatiated hereon,[2] narrating the magnanimous operations of the King aforesaid against the infidels, for which he considered him deserving of honour and singular commendation.

I listened to him most attentively, admitting what he said, but observed that with regard to his aspersion about your Highness's enmity on account of the Indian voyages, his lordship deceived himself greatly; nor could this proceed but from public or private malice, as his lordship was aware of the strife which had existed between your Signory and well nigh all the powers of Christendom. * * * Touching his assertion about aid actually given to the Soldan, both in artillery and counsel, he ought to know that your Excellency might be more reasonably suspected of anything than of favouring the infidels against the Christians, and especially those to whom you were linked by such strong ties of friendship. It was proved, I said, by the long and bloody wars that raged between you and the Turks, what hostility you entertained towards them, and the same feeling existed against all other infidels; should these arguments fail to convince him, I added the following fact, namely, that in our Senate there are about 250 members who deliberate on State affairs, nor is it credible that they would sacrifice the salvation of their souls, for the indulgence of any passion, knowing that

whosoever gives counsel or favour to the infidels against the Christians is excommunicated, and can only be absolved by the Pontiff; nor would a similar proceeding tally with the religion of our State, which experiences extreme consolation, and has ever derived such, from the great exploit, glory, and increase of the King of Portugal, and consequently of the Christian religion through his Majesty, and that there was no one in Venice but who felt anxious for all India, which is Mahommedan, to acknowledge our faith, and resume the arms of Christ[3] (*sic*), and although it seems that our citizens are somewhat injured by the spice trade being turned to Portugal, yet are we more zealous for the Christian faith, than for a little additional emolument, adding many other arguments which occurred to me. His Magnificence listened to me attentively, and appeared convinced by my reasoning, and we remained a long time together, and dined as customary at court, and he ever spoke in terms of honour and affection, so that he departed apparently very well satisfied.

To-day, having heard that his lordship had terminated his mission, and was betaking himself to the court of the most Christian King, I went to visit him at his dwelling, when he gave me hearty welcome, and drawing me aside, said he had taken leave, and departed very well satisfied with his Majesty. The object of his embassy, he said, had been complimentary to the most serene Queen, who is the sister of her Majesty of Portugal,[4] nothing of the sort having taken place for many years past, and especially by reason of the opportunity afforded through his coming to congratulate the Catholic King on his accession, and that no other object had brought him hither. In the course of conversation, he inquired of me how it happened that whereas it had not been the custom previously for your Signory to keep an ambassador in England, I was now residing here. I told him that

since many years your Serenity had despatched hither various ambassadors, though it was true none had remained here so long a while as my predecessor and myself, because not only had his Majesty kept aloof from the league of Cambrai, but had formed a confederacy with our State, wherefore I was here as the ambassador of your Highness, the ally of England. I then repeated my assurances of the good-will borne by your Highness towards his Sovereign; and besides the explanations already given by me, I added that your Excellency has one of the chief magistracies of our town appointed for the purpose of not allowing iron, or timber, or provisions, to be conveyed into the territory of the infidel,[5] under penalty of losing the whole venture, and much more, through confiscation, and very long imprisonment; and whenever anything of the sort had happened, which was seldom, this had been enforced most rigorously, so that it would be in contradiction to your policy were you to give succour and counsel to the Moors against his Majesty. I begged him, in conclusion, to try the good faith of your Excellency in like manner as the experienced mariners of these narrow seas steer safely into port, namely, by their frequent soundings; thus, I suggested, his King should endeavour to learn through unsuspected channels the operations of your Highness, as he would find them replete with religion and piety, and remote from all treachery and malice; and with this, after I had offered to accompany him some distance out of London, which he declined, he departed, as I think most excellently disposed towards your Highness, promising me on his faith and as a true Christian, that he would give the most ample assurances to his King, of the good will of your Highness, and of my good offices. Said magnifico ambassador is named Don Pietro Civrea, a wise and experienced person, and very prudent.[6]

[1] In 1500 and 1501, when Spain and France sent vessels to aid the Venetians, the Spanish fleet being commanded by Gonsalvo of Cordova. In Sanuto's Diaries, in date of February, 1501 (fo. 995), there is an extract from a despatch written by Domenigo Pisani, the Venetian ambassador accredited to Ferdinand and Isabella, dated Granada, December 30th, 1500, in which he mentions having seen the Infanta Catharine, the affianced bride of Prince Arthur, then in her sixteenth year, and ill of ague; and he adds that the King of Portugal was fitting out an armada for Africa against the King of Fez, and that the ambassador meant to tell the King of Spain to cause it to come into the Levant, as his Majesty had previously said he would do. Subsequently, in date of 24th June, 1501, Sanuto records the mission as ambassador to the King of Portugal, of Piero Pasqualigo, LL.D.

[2] The voyages of the Portuguese to India were of course as prejudicial to the Soldans of Egypt as to the Venetians, and Ransou Algouri desired King Emmanuel to cease sending his caravels to Colocut, and did everything in his power to aid the native princes of India in resisting the Portuguese, even by sending vessels in pieces on the backs of camels across the desert from Cairo, to be launched at Tor, a notice of which exists in the diaries of Sanuto, vol. v. folio 700, reads thus:—

"Copy of a paragraph in a letter written by Domenigo del Capello, consul at Damietta, dated the 24th of November, 1503.

"'After having written and closed the accompanying, I received a letter from Cairo, with the news that the Soldan is building there at Cairo, four' (*fuste*, query) 'brigantines, which will be sent in pieces to *Althor*, and then they will put them together and send them to India, for they say that when they shall have seen those four *fuste* in India, the natives there would be able to construct others like them, and to procure plenty of mariners in those parts.'"

[3] "Et resumesse le arme di Christo." This is probably an allusion to the Christians whom the Portuguese admiral Suarez spared when he burnt the city of Cangranor (A.D. 1504-5), belonging to the King of Colocut, the which Christians claimed for their ancestors the honour of having been converted by St. Thomas.

[4] Queen Catharine of Aragon had three sisters: the eldest was Isabella, the first wife of Emmanuel the Fortunate, who died A.D. 1498; the second, Giovanna, commonly called Mad Joan, the mother of Charles V.; the third, Maria, the second wife of the King of Portugal, whom she married A.D. 1500. Queen Catharine was the youngest of the four daughters of Ferdinand and Isabella.

[5] Sandi, in his fifth vol. p. 90, dates the institution of the magistracy of the "*five Sages for Commerce*," *alias* Board of Trade, in the year 1506, and before the formation of this magistracy, the "*College in Ordinary of the Sages*," which had been established about the year 1410, overlooked the exports and imports of Venice. The ambassador is probably alluding to regulations enforced by these two magistracies, and it may here be added, that in the "Universal History," these same charges of aiding the Moors against Portugal, are brought against the Venetians,

but without any proof. It is a curious historical coincidence, the finding in a report of England made to the Venetian Senate by the ambassador Piero Mocenigo, who returned from the court of King Charles II. A.D. 1671, a somewhat similar charge against our Turkey Company, which *really* helped the Turks in their siege of Candia, much as the Venetians were suspected of defending Colocut against the Portuguese, the words of Mocenigo being, "for when the war of Candia raged (from 1644 to 1671), they made great profits by sending gunpowder and every other sort of warlike store in competition with the Dutch, to whose traders the proverb might be applied of *selling the rope to their own executioner*."

[6] I am unable to find any confirmation of what Don Pietro Civrea said, pp. 77, 78, of a Portuguese squadron having been sent to aid the Venetians against the Turks; but Paolo Morosini and Gallicciolli mention that John, King of Portugal, raised a loan in Venice, 1410, and that in the year 1428 his son came to Venice, and was met in the Bucintor, and went to a ball at which 300 ladies were present "nobly dressed," the chronicler says, "in cloths of gold and silk."

In the years 1501-2, Piero Pasqualigo (the colleague of Sebastian Giustinian in England, as seen from pp. 42 to 45) was ambassador from the Republic of Venice to Emmanuel the Fortunate, the object of his mission being to procure aid against the Turk; but as he did not then succeed in obtaining any succour, it may be supposed that the assertion made at Richmond by the Portuguese, and admitted by the Venetian, must mean that some of the vessels in the Spanish fleet commanded by Gonsalvo of Cordova (preceding note, 1,) belonged to Emmanuel.

At the close of the year 1501, Piero Pasqualigo wrote from Lisbon that the King was sending six armed barks to remain during three years, stationed at Colocut, for the purpose of cruising in the Indian Ocean, and preventing the vessels of the Soldan from loading spices in those parts, a proceeding which was evidently so destructive to the Venetian trade, that it would have warranted the proceedings which Giustinian disclaims.

From Portugal (his mission having proved fruitless) Piero Pasqualigo proceeded to the court of Spain, and, whilst there, received the following letter, dated Lisbon, 17th October, 1503, which is added because it helps to explain how matters stood between the rival grocers whose representatives shook hands at Richmond on the morrow of "*Evil May Day*."

Copy of a letter from Giovanni Francesco de la Faitada, addressed to our ambassador in Spain:—

"Magnifico my Ambassador,—I acquainted your Magnificence with the arrival of the two ships from Calicut, since when, on the 11th inst., all the others came into port, with the exception of two of the smallest vessels of the company, one belonging to Ferdinand Lorenzo, the treasurer of the mine, and the other to a native of this place: these vessels had as much freight as they could hold, so we may say and believe that they brought from 33,000 to 34,000

cantara (upwards of 2,200 tons) of spices of every sort; and I assure your Magnificence that up to this time two of said ships have unloaded, and the store where they have stowed the spices looks as if it contained all that ever grew, and these madcaps shovel it up in heaps like wheat. The general opinion is that this fleet of ships is worth a million of gold, for, besides its freight of spices, it brings a great amount of jewels, but for the most part pearls. Don Vascho, who was the admiral, returns worth from 35,000 to 40,000 ducats; and all the other commanders, according to their grade, came back very wealthy, as in like manner, every other person who took part in the expedition, in such wise that none but eye-witnesses can credit it; and the wonder increases daily, for a man of no account will take out twenty ducats' worth, and bring back pearls for the value of 100 ducats, and of this there are several instances. Had the ships been bigger, they would have brought more spices, for not one of them had stowage for another cantar: in short, they have returned very rich indeed, more so than was expected, and their wealth divulges itself to me more and more daily, for the captains of the ships, and other individuals, smuggle the most valuable part of their freight, so it is impossible to learn the whole truth; but articles of value for sale have come into my hands. This is as much as I can tell your Magnificence about these ships now arrived, two of which fell in with the other vessels which left this in April, and the very last, which set sail on Easter Day, were 150 leagues in advance of the others which had preceded them, but both one and the other had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, having gone thus far between Easter and Whitsuntide, a distance of 2,000 (*sic*) leagues, a fine passage in so short a time. It is supposed that these last vessels will return richer than those now arrived, because the greater part of their outward cargo consists of copper, which in those parts goes for ready money. 'Great preparations are being made for the new armada, which this time will number no fewer than twenty-five sail, including the ship *Annonciada*, of 800 tons. Down to this present the King has not chosen to allow any merchant to send thither; I know not what may take place hereafter. My letters shall give notice of daily occurrences to your Magnificence, to whom I recommend myself again and again. Datæ Ulisbonæ, die 17 Octobris, 1503. Subscriptio.

JOANNES FRANCISCUS AFFAITATUS.

London, May 23, 1517.

By mine of the 19th instant, the duplicates of which accompany these, your Highness will have learnt the conclusion of the league between the parties therein mentioned,[1]

Subsequently, I was informed and assured by the "faithful friend" that it has been joined by the Catholic King, and that all the confederates are to send their agents to Rome immediately, for the purpose of swearing to this confederacy before the Pope. The King here, moreover, has appointed as his ambassador and commissioner to the Pontiff the right reverend Cardinal Adrian,[2] empowered to swear in the name of this most serene King, as also to witness the oaths of the others, and assist at the ceremony, on which account they are sending off a courier, who will leave on the 25th instant, without, however, recalling the Bishop de' Gigli, the former ambassador.[3]

Having gone to the right reverend Cardinal to despatch the affair of the wines and merchandise, we commenced discussing the negotiations of these sovereigns, and his lordship confirmed the intelligence about the league having been sworn to by the Catholic King, and ratified by his Holiness; which league, he said, was merely defensive, and not for the purpose of taking that of others, or of disturbing those who content themselves with their own. "You, at this present time," he said, "have got your city of Verona—you will enjoy and possess it; the King of France has his duchy of Milan—let him keep it, in God's name! we shall not molest him unless he molest us, and should he be content with what he has. By this league we have, moreover, secured the kingdom of Naples, so that the King of France will not think of occupying that, or form any other projects about Tournai or Calais. The truces, moreover, between us and the kingdom of Scotland are confirmed, in such wise that the Queen is returned into her realm. I do not perceive any difference between the King of France and his Majesty so great as to require an appeal to arms, for we only demand justice for our subjects,

which we understand he is ready to grant; and this being the case, I think there will be a general peace; and should you choose to join the league his Majesty will accept you, and the King of France likewise, on his preferring suit to this effect, place having been reserved for both one and the other." I thanked his right reverend lordship, first, for his loving announcement of this intelligence, and then for his peaceful disposition, both in general and particular, which I was very certain would rejoice your Highness, as it warranted a hope of universal peace, and especially as no clause intervened to your prejudice. Upon this, his right reverend lordship said, "Know, that we are extremely content that you should have Verona, and I rejoice thereat very much indeed; for this King and his Cardinal never entertained a thought against the welfare of your State. All cause of dissension between you and the Emperor is now removed; but, for the love of God, content yourselves with your own." I told him, that the more his right reverend lordship spoke, the more he gave me cause for thanking him by imparting information which redounded to the common weal and consolation, and that by this means I trusted all discord between the Emperor and your Excellency would be removed, hoping that any trifling disputes hereafter might be settled through the medium of his right reverend lordship; and having fully discussed these matters, I passed to those of the wines and merchandise. His lordship apologised for not having been able to attend to these things, owing to matters more important, but that he would expedite them in a few days, to which effect I besought him most earnestly; and with this his right reverend lordship departed.

I then went to visit the reverend Bishop of Durham, pretending to have come to congratulate him on this peace

and league, which, I said, was both advantageous for this kingdom, and likely to improve the good understanding existing between England and your Highness. He replied immediately, "Domine Orator! there was no question of anything in this league which could molest you; on the contrary, we all sought and desired your quiet and tranquillity; and I tell you, we are very content and satisfied at your having Verona, as all dissension and cause of war between you and the Emperor is thus removed, which suits us;" and this he repeated twice, "I do not believe that you could have desired anything more to your advantage than this, for the negotiations of the King of France, at Cambrai, had for object to injure you and others, whereas these are for the advantage of all; nor do I doubt but that, ere long, a general peace will be effected, enabling attention to be turned to greater things," meaning Turkish affairs. I thanked his lordship for his good will, and for the fair hopes he conceived that this beginning might lead to the desired end, and then took leave.

[1] In letters of the date mentioned, the ambassador states that he was informed by Ruthal, Bishop of Durham, of a league contracted between England and Spain, to which Chieregato added, that the Emperor and the Pope were parties, the latter stipulating that the King of England should accommodate him with a loan for six months of 50,000 ducats. One of the charges brought against Francis I. was to the effect that he had secretly aided the Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere against the rival duke, Lorenzino de Medici. This would appear to be the same league contemplated as far back as in the October preceding, which it was then doubtful whether the Pope would join.

[2] Adrian Castelesi of Corneto was born about the year 1458, and having studied at Rome under Torello Malatesta, became one of the most elegant Latin scholars of his day. He came over to England in the spring of the year 1488, on his way to Scotland, being accredited to King James III. by Pope Innocent VIII., who seems to have taken an interest in the affairs of that astrologer, and to have been anxious to quell the civil discord which raged in his kingdom; but whilst Castelesi was yet in London, the news arrived of the murder of King James, and he returned to Rome without having crossed the Tweed, to the disappoint-

ment of Pope Innocent, though not without having somewhat bettered his own private fortunes, for whilst in England Henry VII. showed him such favour that he obtained Church preferment, besides presents from the King; and in the year 1490 held the post of collector of Peter's pence in England for Innocent VIII., which he retained until the year 1514, when Henry VIII. made him cede it to the secretary Ammonius, of whom mention has been made at p. 262, vol. i. On the death of Pope Innocent in 1492, Pope Alexander VI., besides confirming Adrian in his office as collector, gave him authority as nuncio to effect certain reforms of the English clergy, both secular and regular. In the year 1501, Castelesi was made Bishop of Hereford, Pope Alexander VI. having previously in 1489 appointed him notary of the Apostolic treasury, and, in 1500, treasurer-general, which last appointment renders doubtful an assertion made by several of his biographers, to the effect that in the year 1501 he came to England with the pallium for Henry Dene, Archbishop of Canterbury; and as he wrote the briefs of Pope Alexander VI., it may be questioned whether he was ever in England after the year 1494. On the 31st of May, 1503, Castelesi was created cardinal by Alexander VI., who took his last supper at the Castelesi vineyard in the following month of September, the Pope having intended to poison Adrian on this occasion, for the sake of inheriting his property, which was so great that, according to Warton, in his Anglia Sacra, it obtained for him the title of "The opulent Cardinal." Bacon, in his life of Henry VII. (t. iii. p. 60) speaking of Adrian, says: "Certe vir magnus fuit, et multa eruditione prudentiâ, et in rebus civilibus *dexteritate* præditus," and, in fact, his address frustrated the intention of Pope Alexander, who swallowed the poison intended for his host, and died in consequence. In the year 1504, Cardinal Adrian was translated from Hereford to Bath and Wells, but his favour with Pope Julius II. did not keep pace with that which he enjoyed with Henry VII.; he was suspected of favouring a project which the Emperor was said to have entertained of dethroning Pope Julius; and through the English ambassador at Rome, Stefano de' Gigli (the same of whom mention is made in this despatch), proofs were adduced of his having written to King Henry VII. in abuse of his Holiness. In consequence of this the Cardinal Adrian fled from Rome in September, 1507, but returned almost immediately, on receiving a safe-conduct from the Pope. On second thoughts, apparently doubting its efficacy, he again left Rome in the month of October following, and went and resided at Trani, which was then held by the Venetians, until the year 1509, when he came to Venice with the intention of going to England, a project he did not realize, in consequence of the death of his patron, Henry VII. The Cardinal, from the year 1509 to 1513, was sometimes at Sterzen, sometimes at Padua, and occasionally at Sermione, on the Lake of Garda. On the death of Pope Julius he went to Rome, nor did anything important happen to him until this year 1517, when the adventures related in these despatches render him once again an historical character.

[3] Sylvester de' Gigli, Bishop of Worcester, who succeeded his uncle in

that dignity A.D. 1498. Cardinal Wolsey was the commendatory of his see. De' Gigli is said to have been by birth a Fleming of Lucchese origin. When Cardinal Bambridge, Archbishop of York, was poisoned at Rome in the month of July, 1514, by one Rinaldo of Modena, the culprit said he had been instigated to do the deed by the ambassador de' Gigli (see Ellis's Letters on English History, vol. i. pp. 100 and 113.) Whether this Bishop of Worcester, who represented the majesty of England at Rome in the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII., really was a murderer or not, has not been ascertained; but, like Ammonius and Chieregato and Giustinian, he was in correspondence with Erasmus. De' Gigli died at Rome, A.D. 1521, April 16.

London, May 26, 1517.

I now inform your Highness that I have heard from "the faithful friend," that his Majesty is writing in haste to the Pope, and by the same messenger, is sending him the 50,000 ducats, so it is certain that the account of this confederacy is well-grounded.

To-day, I received four missives from your Excellency dated the 2nd, 9th, and 30th of April, and 6th instant, and having read them with my wonted respect, I in the first place thank your Highness infinitely for the praise bestowed on me for my operations, and secondly, for the hints supplied to me for my future guidance * * *

I went to-day to the right reverend Cardinal, to communicate the summaries of Turkish news, but his lordship was exhausted with his labours, and requested I would take them into consideration, and return another day, as I will do. I afterwards proceeded to the reverend Durham, and as he is one and the same thing as the right reverend Cardinal, I communicated these summaries to him, the which he was already acquainted with by way of Rome. I pay him this attention, in order to keep friends with him, and to prove

that your Highness holds his lordship in good account: another reason for my acting thus was, that I knew the intelligence had been received by others, and did not wish it to reach the King's ears, without its having been also announced by me.

London, May 28, 1517.

Yesterday, an ambassador arrived here from the Emperor, namely, the brother of the Cardinal of Gurk,[1] by name Master Christopher,[2] to whom I sent "the faithful friend," for he having had some intercourse with him formerly, would be able, I thought, to elicit the information I wanted. He brought me back word that the ambassador was come on behalf of the Emperor, to ask this most serene King for money to pay his expenses back into Germany; his intention, he says, being to return in a fortnight, and that the Catholic King will leave for Spain in a month. He also informed me that the right reverend Cardinal of Gurk is gone, by command of the Emperor, to the Diet of Worms. Also, that the Emperor has positively determined on going to Rome this year, there to be crowned, which seems to be the wish of all Germany; and if unable to go otherwise, he will go in battle array.

I shall endeavour to visit this ambassador should he choose to receive me, and not follow the example of the one here in ordinary, who has invariably declined both my visits and my friendship, and if I succeed will do my utmost to convince him of the respect and love borne by your Sublimity and the Senate, and by the whole Venetian Republic, towards his Imperial Majesty.

[1] Matthew Lanch of Wellenberg, who was made cardinal by Pope Julius II., A.D. 1511, enjoyed almost as much power with Maximilian as Wolsey exercised over Henry VIII. In the Diaries of Sanuto there are sundry notices concerning this statesman, which are not to be found in the common biographical dictionaries. In the month of September, 1496, he was already secretary to the Emperor, and accompanied him to Vigevano for a conference with Ludovic the Moor. Matthew Lanch, besides the brother here alluded to, had a sister by name Apolonia, and she for a while was the mistress of the Emperor, who, in the year 1513, provided for her by a marriage with his vassal and soldier, Count Christopher Frangipane, the same who was worsted by the ambassador Giustinian in Istria. Frangipane was eventually captured, and remained some time a prisoner in the ducal palace at Venice, where he indeed found himself at the moment when this despatch was written, his captivity being shared by Apolonia, who, in the month of June, 1517, being in ill health, quitted her husband for a while, and, by permission of the Signory, went to the baths of Abano, where I find her again in May, 1518; she returned to Venice in December of that year, and conveyed files and a rope-ladder to her husband to aid his escape, which was, however, frustrated; and to this day, on the window-sill of the chambe in which Frangipane was confined, may be read his own autograph, and that of Apolonia, the sister of this Cardinal of Gurk.

[2] In the Diaries of Sanuto, date November 16, 1503, mention is made of a brother of Matthew Lanch, by name *John*, who had plied the trade of a jeweller in Venice, and committed an act of fraudulent bankruptcy; and in a letter written by Apolonia to her husband in date of July 27, 1514, she alludes to her brother the Count *Ferdinand*, and also to the *Cardinal*, so possibly the ambassador's pen slipped from Ferdinand to Christopher. The Cardinal of Gurk had another sister besides Apolonia, and the Venetian ambassador Mocenigo writes from the Imperial court in November, 1503, that the bishop had lately married her, with a dower of 6,000 ducats, to the son of the Lord Paris Lodrone. The wedding was attended by Mocenigo, who says that it was a very fine one. From these particulars it is evident that Matthew Lanch was of as low origin as Thomas Wolsey.

London, June 17, 1517.

You will now learn that I endeavoured to visit Gurk's brother, who I wrote had come hither, but he sent me word by no means to go, both because he was not a public person, and also because he was unable to return the compli-

ment until after he had spoken with the Imperial ambassador, who I doubt not, from his (ill) nature, will have thwarted the conference, which might have taken place. I, however, sent my secretary, who was unable to elicit any thing of importance, though through another channel I have understood that the object of his mission was to demand a loan of this most serene King on behalf of the Emperor, and he accordingly obtained ten thousand crowns, with which, if he did not depart yesterday, he would certainly go to-day. The Emperor seems to have gone to the Diet which is being held at Worms, in consequence of a league formed by certain princes of Germany[1] against his Majesty aforesaid, and measures are now to be taken for chastising their insolence. I hear also that three ambassadors from his Catholic Majesty, personages of great authority and rank, are expected here, vast preparations being made to do them extreme honour, beyond what is usually paid to ambassadors: they are coming to swear to the league, a ceremony which was already performed a year ago by the ambassadors of the Catholic King;[2] though as many things have intervened, all the clauses which were inserted at the suit of the Cardinal of Sion being cancelled, a fresh ratification has become necessary. From what I understand, all the other ambassadors will go to meet them, and should this prove the case, and the great lords of the kingdom do the like, I also will pay them the same compliment, believing that such is the intention of your Highness, now that his Catholic Majesty is at peace with the Signory; and, moreover, as I hear that in this new league there is nothing injurious to the King of France, nay that his Catholic Highness is bound to defend him should he be attacked by others in any part of his dominions, either in Italy or elsewhere. I have endeavoured to learn whether, in said league, any mention soever is made

of your Highness, in such wise as to prove to your prejudice, and this I did very cautiously, so as not to evince any apprehension thereof, but it has been impossible for me to learn any thing.

I have not prosecuted the affair of the wines and of our national patents, because since my last interview with the right reverend Cardinal, he has been very ill indeed, so that his life was despaired of,[3] and for many days, neither the grandees, nor other members of the privy council, who are wont to be so assiduous, went near him. He is now convalescent, and I have arranged to go and see him in a couple of days, though I do not anticipate discussing those matters then, as it would be importunate, but I shall at least make an appointment for another time. I am aware, most serene Prince, that the business was purposely protracted before this illness; because, should they choose to despatch it, they cannot do so in justice, save favourably for your Excellency, to which they are averse, as it would diminish the malmsey duties a noble per butt,[4] and in the same proportion affect the royal revenues. Should this business be further prolonged, I will go the King, who would, I think, arrange for its more speedy despatch, yet would its settlement be referred to the Cardinal, who would resent my appeal to his Majesty, and on this account I have preferred obtaining our object through some additional toil and delay, in preference to exposing the result to peril by abbreviating it.

[1] Headed by the Duke of Guelders, who, about this time, entered Holland with some 25,000 men.

[2] On the 1st of November, 1516. See the despatch of that date.

[3] At the moment of the arrest of Cardinal Wolsey, his physician was a Venetian, by name Agostini degli Agostini, *alias* Mr. Augustine, as mentioned by the Venetian ambassador Ludovico Falier, in a despatch dated London, 15th November, 1530. Allusion is also made to Agostini in the letters of Ellis (vol. ii. p. 2, Letter 102); it is not known in what year this Venetian first entered Wolsey's service. He was cer-

tainly acting in this capacity before the 7th of January, 1523, under which date he is mentioned in Sanuto's Diaries.

[1] See the note concerning malmsey-sack and the duties at pp. 46-49, and in vol. i. p. 100.

London, June 30, 1517.

I have been to his Majesty and the right reverend Cardinal, and communicated to them the summaries sent me by your Highness, which were opportune, as news had already arrived here, that the Turk was dead or captured, as likewise all his army, and no other intelligence having reached this, they remained in doubt: but from this suspense they are now relieved. Two ambassadors have arrived from the most Christian King; I went to visit them, and endeavoured to learn the cause of their coming, but they did not unbosom themselves; though from what I can conjecture, their mission is induced by this King having determined on sending three of his agents to Calais, to meet as many more on behalf of the King of France, for the purpose of discussing a variety of claims urged by private individuals concerning damages effected by either party. It seems indeed that these ambassadors are come to state that the settlement of these disputes will require much time, and that it would be expedient to refer them to persons on the spot, as for instance, the captain of Calais on behalf of England, and the captain of Boulogne for France; though for this I do not vouch. I will endeavour to learn the truth through another channel, and your Highness shall be advised thereof. In the meanwhile, I have paid every possible compliment to these ambassadors, who are Monseigneur da la Gissa,[1] and Monseigneur the Advocate of Boulogne.

Three ambassadors from the Catholic King have also arrived. The principal of them being Monseigneur Jacques de Luamburg, the son of Monseigneur Darsen,[2] the governor of Flanders and Artois, a personage of extreme repute, both by reason of his noble blood and splendid fortune; while his colleagues are the bailiff of Hainalt, and the provost of Caselet. They were received with such honours, as are not usually paid to ambassadors, but perceiving that my colleagues did not go to meet them, as it was reported they would, I omitted paying them that compliment, but shall go and visit them at their dwelling to-morrow, and will endeavour by all my words and actions to convince them thoroughly of the good-will entertained by your Highness towards his Catholic Majesty. That Friar Nicholas, moreover, the envoy of the right reverend Medici, of whom I made mention heretofore,[3] is returned, and on Sunday, which will be the 5th proximo, the league is to be sworn to and proclaimed. Amongst other conditions is the following, that should any Christian Prince molest any of the said confederates, the King of England is to cross over to France with 25,000 infantry and a great number of horse; the Emperor with 20,000 foot; the Catholic King with 2,000 spears and 20,000 infantry; whilst his Holiness is to fulminate censures—things really ridiculous, and rather calculated to furnish food for conversation, than to be carried into effect. Should I be able to learn the other conditions, I will notify them to your Highness immediately.

His Majesty is making preparations for jousts and great entertainments in honour of these French and Flemish lords. I went to-day to the right reverend Cardinal, who was with the ambassador in ordinary from the Catholic King, and he sent to apologize for inability to give me audience, being prevented by important business. I greatly regret this delay,

not on my own account, as no labour undergone for your Highness proves irksome to me, but because of the delay of your business, namely, that of the wines, and of the patents for our nation, though no difficulty is so great, but that it may be vanquished by perseverance.

[1] Pierre de la Guiche, the same who signed the treaty of Westminster, A.D. 1515, April 5. See vol. i, p. 60.

[2] Probably the same who is called Lombeke in vol. i. p. 18, of the Correspondence of the Cæsars, published by Lanch at Leipsig in 1844. Names at that period being spelt very arbitrarily, Lombeke may easily have been rendered synonymous with Luamburg or Limbourg. Darsen, in like manner, may be read D'Aerschott or Darschot, the marquis of that name being Governor of Flanders.

[3] See *ante*, note 2, p. 61.

London, July 10, 1517.

By my last of the 30th ultimo, your Highness was informed of the arrival of the ambassadors of the Catholic King, and that the league was to be sworn to on the 5th, with other details therein contained. You will now learn, that on the appointed day, the league[1] was sworn to by this most serene King alone, the ambassadors aforesaid of the Catholic King standing by as witnesses, though they took no oath, as their Sovereign swore to this confederacy in the presence of the English ambassadors at his court. In the course of this ceremony, powers were produced, and the articles read; amongst the rest a schedule of the clauses of last year, many of which were cancelled, on which occasion his Majesty ordered a fresh copy to be made, so that no question might arise hereafter. Subsequently, through the "faithful friend," who received his information from Friar Nicholas, the envoy of the Cardinal de Medici, I learnt that

the cancelled clauses were those inserted a year ago to the prejudice of the most Christian King and your Sublimity.

His Majesty having taken the oath, at which ceremony neither the imperial ambassador, nor yet Friar Nicholas were present, this last was then summoned, and before the King and the ambassadors above mentioned, announced that his Holiness the Pope had heard with extreme satisfaction that this alliance was for the benefit of the confederates, and not to the detriment of any one, which was vastly agreeable to him, and he was therefore content to be a party to it. The King answered him that he was very glad, and returned many thanks to his Holiness for deigning to approve such an act by word and deed; and that not only did he wish him to be a confederate, but moreover the head and chief of said alliance. The official document vouching the consent of the Pope was then exhibited,[1] but no oath was administered, though I understand that the ambassadors of the other confederates, who are at Rome, will witness the papal oath, as commonly taken by his Holiness. These are very unusual forms, devised rather in honour of this most serene King, than in accordance with custom. Great state was observed on that day, not only in the ceremonies themselves, but also in the general display, which was more sumptuous than usual, the court exhibiting unusual splendour. Two tables were served,—this right reverend Cardinal and the ambassadors of the Catholic King being at the royal board, and I was placed at the other with the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Marquis,[2] and other lords and some prelates.

There is no doubt, most serene Prince, but that never at any time, or in any place, did ambassadors receive such honours as have been lavished upon these, so that had the Catholic King come in person, I know not what more they could have done; and this proceeds, I believe, from two

causes—first, from their wish so to cajole his Catholic Highness, that should it ever behove him to make his election between the friendship of France or of this King, he may prefer that of England. A second, and equally cogent reason is, that one of these ambassadors, a youth of about twenty years old, and extremely handsome, is of a most illustrious family, descended from three emperors;[3] his father being the Governor of all Flanders and Artois, whilst his father-in-law is Monseigneur de Chièvres,[4] the very first personage in those dominions, enjoying no less authority with his Sovereign, than Cardinal Wolsey with his Majesty here. This youthful ambassador is, moreover, the boon companion of the Catholic King, sharing all his secrets as familiarly as if he were his brother; qualifications which may reasonably have induced the King of England to make such demonstrations.

After dinner, his Majesty took this ambassador into the Queen's chamber, and made her and all those ladies pay him as much honour as if he had been a sovereign, giving him amusements of every description, the chief of which, however, and the most approved by his Majesty, was the instrumental music of the reverend Master Dionysius Memo, his chaplain,[5] which lasted during four consecutive hours, to the so great admiration of all the audience, and with such marks of delight from his Majesty aforesaid, as to defy exaggeration. Then, on the 7th instant, a most stately joust was kept, the decorations of which were so costly, new ornaments being made on purpose, besides those already in use, that I doubt the performance of a finer or more sumptuous spectacle for many years past. The King jousted with his brother-in-law, the Duke of Suffolk, and they bore themselves like Hector and Achilles; and there were, moreover, other jousters, as many as thirty in num-

ber. I would give the details, but I am aware that your Highness does not delight in prolixity. The joust being ended, all we ambassadors went to our respective quarters; and at a fitting hour the King sent for each of us, and gave a banquet, which was attended by all the chief lords of the kingdom, and by all the principal ladies. His Majesty sat between the most serene Queen his consort, and his sister the Queen Dowager of France; next on the right hand the Cardinal was seated, and on the left the imperial ambassador; then came the rest of us ambassadors in succession, and next the dukes and marquises, no person being seated below the grade of a marquis. The ladies, indeed, sat alternately—that is to say, a gentleman, and then a lady. Great was the sumptuousness of the repast and the profusion of plate, the cupboard filled with vessels, said to be all of gold.[6] It was a marvellous and very varied entertainment, music and other representations being performed, and it lasted during four hours. Then on the tables being removed, the King chose to dance, as did the young ambassador, and some of the lords with the chief ladies, so that when we departed it was about 2 A.M. On the morrow, the Spanish ambassadors remained to dine with his Majesty, and I came to London, since which they have been banqueted every day by the right reverend Cardinal and other lords; and to-day they dined with his Majesty and the two Queens most familiarly, contrary to the custom of the Kings of England; and the chief dish at this feast was the music of the reverend Master Dionysius Memo, of whom his Majesty has a greater opinion than words can express. I sent my secretary several times to these ambassadors to make an appointment for my visiting them, but it has never been possible to arrange it, for they are really always pre-engaged, either by the King or Cardinal. I, however, complimented

them, as becoming, on the day of the entertainment, though, if possible, I shall not fail going to their dwelling, it seeming to me very proper for the agents of your Highness to pay honour in your name to those who are so excessively honoured by kings.

I have also been several times to the right reverend Cardinal about the matters well known to your Highness, but could never obtain audience; true is it that he was always occupied, either with the ambassadors aforesaid, or with those of France, so that there was no room for me.

It is asserted here, that the Catholic King will leave for Spain in eight or ten days, and that all is in readiness; though a contrary opinion seems to be entertained by the French ambassador, who told me, that from lack of money he does not know when said King will depart; and he also informed me, that two formal embassies had reached the French court from the Emperor and the Catholic King, with whom his most Christian Majesty had determined on knitting himself in the closest amity.

I believe that the cause of the sojourn here of the aforesaid French ambassadors proceeds from something more than what I wrote in my foregoing, though I cannot elicit anything from them. It is currently reported that they are negotiating a league, and when this was repeated to them they smiled, without either admitting or denying; and it strikes me really as very strange their being so reserved with me, considering the intimate friendship which exists between the most Christian King and your Highness. To-morrow I shall go to visit them again, and will endeavour adroitly, in such wise as to avoid the charge of indiscretion, to extract something, in which case my letters shall inform your Sublimity.[7]

[1] The league of November, 1516, is mentioned by Rymer as having been confirmed at Brussels on the 11th of May, 1517; but nothing is said of its ratification in London the July following, as related in this letter. See Rymer, edition 1727, vol. xiii. fols. 571 and 588.

[2] Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset. (See *ante*, note 1, p. 12, 18th November, 1516.

[3] Adolphus of Nassau, who was elected Emperor A.D. 1292 (May), and was deposed on the 23rd of June, 1298, had for wife Imogene, the daughter of Gerlac, Count of Limbourg, who bore him Gerlac, Count of Nassau, the ancestor of the Princes of Nassau-Usingen de Saarbruk and de Veilbourg; probably Monseigneur De Lombeke was of this family.

[4] William de Croi, Seigneur de Chievres, prime minister of Charles V., who died at Worms A.D. 1521.

[5] It seems by this, and by the despatch of 19th May, that the King kept the promise made to Memo on his arrival in September, 1516, and that he procured a dispensation from Leo X. from his monastic vows for this Venetian friar, and gave him a chaplaincy.

[6] The word cupboard now signifies by corruption a *closed* case; but in the days when Sebastian Giustinian was at Greenwich, cupboards had no doors. Stowe tells of one displayed at the marriage feast of Prince Arthur, in the palace of the Bishop of London, "five stages in height, being triangled, the which was set with plate valued at 1,200*l.*; and in the other chamber, where the Princess dined, was a cupboard of gold plate, garnished with stones and pearls, valued above 20,000*l.*" When Cardinal Wolsey entertained the French ambassadors at Hampton Court, A.D. 1528, two banquetting rooms were thrown open (the company consisting of 280 persons) in each of which a cupboard extended along the whole length of the apartment, piled to the top with plate. The ambassador seems to have suspected that the plate was silver gilt, and not gold, his words being, "Et la credenza tutta di vasi d'oro, *si come se dice*.

[7] It is to be regretted that the dread entertained by Sebastian Giustinian of wearying Doge Loredano with a long story, prevented his giving an account in the foregoing despatch of all that took place on Greenwich Lawn on the 7th of July, 1517, when the lists will have been "superbly decorated, and surrounded by the pavilions belonging to the champions, ornamented with their arms, banners, and bannerolls. The scaffolds for the reception of the nobility of both sexes who came as spectators," and the apartments within the palace especially appointed for the two queens and the Viscount Jacques de Limbourg and his colleagues, will have been "hung with tapestry and embroideries of gold and silver, every person will have been decked in sumptuous array, the field presenting to the eye a rich display of manificence," to use the words of Strutt, who, in his chapter on justs, expresses himself thus, and goes on to say, "We may also add the splendid appearance of the knights engaged in the sports; themselves and their horses were most gorgeously arrayed, and their esquires and pages, together with the

minstrels and heralds who superintended the ceremonies, were all of them clothed in costly and glittering apparel. Such a show of pomp, where wealth, beauty, and grandeur were concentred, as it were, in one focus, must altogether have formed a wonderful spectacle, and made a strong impression on the mind, which was not a little heightened by the cries of the heralds, the clangour of the trumpets, the clashing of the arms, the rushing together of the combatants, and the shouts of the beholders." The accuracy of this sketch of a just, as described by Strutt from antiquarian research, is proved by the following letter from the secretary Sagudino, which, like the others by the same pen, already quoted, exists in the Diaries of Marin Sanuto, vol. xxiv. fol. 468.

Copy of a letter written by Nicolo Sagudino, the secretary of our ambassador in England, dated London, 11th July, 1517, narrating the triumphs of the justs made, and other entertainments; addressed to Alvise Foscari, son of the late Nicolo.

"Magnifico my Patron,

"For the purpose chiefly of doing honour to these Flemish envoys, all the ambassadors were invited to a just on the 7th inst., and went at about 2 P.M., the King entering the place where the lists, &c., had been prepared, processionally, thus: first, the marshal of the just on horseback, in a surcoat of cloth of gold bawdakin, surrounded by thirty footmen, all dressed in a livery of yellow and blue; then followed the drummers and trumpeters all dressed in white damask, who preceded some forty knights and lords in pairs, the greater part of them being dressed in cloths of gold, with very valuable gold chains; after these came some twenty young knights on very fine horses, all dressed in white, with doublets of cloth of silver and white velvet, and chains of unusual size, and their horses were barbed with silver chainwork, and a number of pendent bells, many of which rang. Next followed thirteen pages, singly, on extremely handsome horses, whose trappings were half of gold embroidery, and the other half of purple velvet, embroidered with gold stars; then came fifteen jousters armed, their horse-armour and surcoats being most costly, and alongside of each was one on horseback, sumptuously dressed, carrying his lance, with their footmen.

"Next appeared this most divine (*sic*) Majesty, *cap-a-pie* with a surcoat of silver bawdakin, surrounded by some thirty gentlemen on foot, dressed in velvet and white satin, and in this order they went twice round the lists, at one extremity of which the King and the jousters aforesaid, with the footmen, halted, whilst the rest of the retinue went to meet fifteen other jousters, who in like manner paraded twice round the lists, and drew up at the opposite end; and these jousters also were sumptuously arrayed in surcoats, as likewise their footmen and other attendants. Amongst the jousters were the most illustrious Duke of Suffolk, the Lord Marquis of Dorset, and the Lord Admiral (Earl of Surrey). On their being marshalled, the King commenced jousting with the Duke of Suffolk, and tilted eight courses, both bearing themselves most valorously, and shivering their lances almost every time, to the very great applause of all the spectators. The others then jousted for the space of four

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hours, but the honour of the day was awarded to his Majesty and to the Duke, who, as stated by me, really comported themselves most valorously. Between the courses, the King and the pages, and other cavaliers, performed marvellous feats, mounted on magnificent horses, which they made jump and execute other acts of horsemanship, under the windows where the most serene Queens of England and the Dowager of France were, with all the rest of the beauteous and lovely and sumptuously appareled damsels. Adjoining was a chamber occupied by the Cardinal and all his gentlemen and attendants; the ambassadors likewise were there, including myself. The King performed supernatural feats, changing his horses, and making them fly rather than leap, to the delight and ecstacy of everybody.

"The joust being ended, a beam was brought, some twenty-four feet in length, and nine inches in diameter, and was placed on the head of one of his Majesty's favourites, by name Master Carol, who was one of the jousters, and he ran a long way with this beam on his head, to the marvel of everybody. After this the jousters departed in the same order as that in which they had first appeared in the lists. The place where the joust was held is much larger than St. Mark's Square, and, on one side, two tents were pitched, one of cloth of gold (which cost his Majesty 10,000 ducats, and he had it made when he crossed over to France in the year 1515, time of the Battle of Spurs). The other was of silk, and around said place were a number of scaffolds containing immense crowds, the persons present at this spectacle being estimated at upwards of 50,000.

"The joust being ended, and the King and the others having disarmed, betook themselves into a hall in the palace, where preparations had been made for a banquet; and at the head of this hall his Majesty took his seat between the most serene Queen his consort, and the Queen Dowager of France, the consort of the most illustrious Suffolk, the right reverend Cardinal being seated with them: then at the sides there were the ambassadors, namely, those from the Emperor and the King of France, four from the Catholic King, and my most noble master the Venetian; and by the side of each of them one of the handsomest of the ladies was seated. The feast then commenced, and lasted more than three hours: I will not detail the very sumptuous dishes, which were rather divine than regal, nor yet the display of gold and silver plate, but 'tis said that the like was never witnessed. In the centre of the hall there was a stage on which were some boys, some of whom sang, and others played the flute, rebeck, and harpsichord, making the sweetest melody. The banquet being ended, the King and the guests abovementioned betook themselves into another hall, where the damsels of the most serene Queen were, and dancing went on there for two hours, the King doing marvellous things, both in dancing and jumping, proving himself, as he in truth is, indefatigable. We then went to our quarters, as prepared for us in the name of his Majesty, much decorated, and with most luxurious beds and every other convenience.

"On the following morning we returned here to London rather bewil-

dered than otherwise by this entertainment, and everybody does nothing but talk of it, and says, that never was a finer or more sumptuous one given in England. I recommend myself to my utmost to your Magnificence, whom may the Lord God have in his grace," &c.

The reference in this letter to the chamber music of Henry VIII., reminds us that Sagudino himself was a musician (as stated in vol. i. p. 80-1). The surname of "Sagudino Exaudi-nos," by which he was known, as mentioned in Sansovino's description of Venice (p. 585), took its origin from some popular chaunt beginning with these words, and composed in the style of the Memo quartet (see *ante*, p. 75). It is interesting to learn from an Italian musician, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, his opinion of the state of the science of harmony at the English court.

London, July 19, 1517.

Since mine of the 10th instant, nothing has happened worthy of the knowledge of your Highness, save the departure of the Spanish ambassadors, who, it is reported in many quarters (and the Magnifico, the French ambassador here, confirms this fact to me), have received 100,000 crowns from his Majesty, for the intended voyage of the Catholic King. These ambassadors, likewise, obtained magnificent presents; and according to what has reached me from a good source, they were given 7,000 ducats, a very unusual proceeding, but the greater portion fell to the lot of Monseigneur Jacques de Luamburg.[1] The French ambassador has not yet left; and from what I learn both from him and others, he merely came about the claims for damages, and will soon be despatched. Nothing is talked of here but peace; and neither more nor less mention is made of the Turks, than of Prester John. Neither of the two commissions given me have yet been executed, though the right reverend Cardinal has received the petition of the merchants for the renewal of the patents, about which I exerted myself

immensely; and to-morrow, God willing, he will procure its signature. I will leave nothing undone to despatch the affair of the wines; but am of opinion that this delay in the settlement of the business, proceeds from the Cardinal's wish to be cured of the *squilentia*, a disease under which he is just now suffering.[2] I, however, do not like to make him any offer, both because I am not empowered by your Highness, and also as it is not our custom either to give or take bribes. * * *

[1] See *ante*, despatch of 30th June.

[2] The Venetian jargon, signifying, probably, the yellow jaundice, and implying that Cardinal Wolsey wanted a bribe: the words are, "Che questo Rmo. Carl. voria guarir del mal de la *squilentia*."

London, July 23, 1517.

You will now learn that a Bishop of St. Dominick, *apud Indos*, has arrived here as papal nuncio,[1] with letters exhorting his Majesty to an expedition against the infidel, though the right reverend Cardinal seems to hold him and his exhortations in small account, and assured me that he was anxious for peace, and for the quiet of this most serene King and his realm. * * * I commended his right reverend lordship for this his good disposition, and congratulated myself vastly on his having this aim which would augment the opinion entertained of him by the potentates of the world, adding other expressions suited to the matter. He likewise told me in the course of conversation that the French ambassador would be despatched in three or four days, which was confirmed to me by the ambassador himself, when here at my house, I having given him a grand

banquet in honour of your Excellency; and during dinner he vouched to me for the good-will of his most Christian King, and of all the lords of France, towards your Highness, saying, that the best possible union would ever exist between the two States, as expedient for both of them, which I confirmed, assuring him of the excellent bias of our entire nation, expatiating hereon as much as I deemed proper. I shall lavish every possible attention on him, so long as he remains here, as is my wont with all the ambassadors, for the sake of rendering them favourable to your Sublimity.

When discussing the affairs of the Pontiff, the right reverend Cardinal confirmed what had already reached me through another channel, namely, that the Bishopric of Bath, worth 10,000 ducats, and which belonged to the right reverend Adrian, had been conferred upon him.[2] The reverend Pontifical nuncio here, Chieregato, has received a brief, charging him, under pain of being disgraced by his Holiness, and subjected to a penalty of 3,000 ducats, to divest himself of his diplomatic character, and repair to Rome immediately; and he is preparing for departure. I imagine this is on account of the Cardinal Adrian, this nuncio having acted as his agent,[3] although he professes to attribute his recall to the friendship maintained between us. I, however, believe the reason to be the one first assigned by me. He will present himself before your Highness, in quest of refuge, as it were, and do your Serenity deign to hold him as recommended; for it would, in truth, be impossible to desire better service than that which he has rendered me in the affairs of the Signory, nor could I say enough thereon. I am aware that it is peculiar to the State to reward those who deserve well of her, nor does he ask money of your Highness, but rather some benefice, that he

may build his nest beneath the happy shadow of your[4] Signory, where he was born and educated.

I have urged the Cardinal to despatch the patent for these merchants, authorizing them to purchase wools and tin whenever they please, on payment of certain customs, as was their wont in the reign of the late King, these duties being paid half one year and half the next, which patent it has been impossible to obtain for many years, so that the business done by our merchants was transacted under other names; but now, by God's grace, this has been obtained, and is made out, though his lordship would not give it into my hands until I guaranteed the coming of the galleys, for whose arrival here, within six months from this time, he wanted me to pledge myself, saying, that without such a promise, he would not give me this permit for 5,000 ducats. I answered him, that although I knew your Highness meant to send the galleys on the receipt of this permit, yet was it impossible for me to vouch for their being here within this period on many accounts, such as capture or shipwreck (which may God avert), or impediment of any sort (which I did not anticipate) in the ports of Spain; and in short, if I chose to get this patent (and considering that all these merchants have received letters announcing that your Highness, through your most excellent Council of the Senate, has determined that said galleys are to come on their voyage), it behoved me to guarantee to him their arrival within eight months, saving only such impediments as I have mentioned; and he insists on having a writing from me, on the receipt of which he has promised to give the permit.[5]

With regard to the affair of the wines, he made me a long apology, how that as it was a matter of great importance not only affecting the repute of his Majesty, but his revenue, it was necessary to be very cautious, and proceed according to

legal advice, which could not be obtained until after Michaelmas: all the law officers had been sent to the towns and counties of the kingdom, to make inquiry concerning the conduct and mode of life of the agents of his Majesty, and in like manner of that of the grandees, and that they will not return until after the period mentioned, when he said he would convoke them, and in their presence give me audience, and that should his right reverend lordship be prevented by other business, he would appoint auditors to hear me, but he said he thought he himself should be the auditor, adding, "Write to your Signory that I promise you on the faith of a Cardinal, should your argument be just, that you shall pay nothing on account of that new duty,[6] whilst on the other hand, should you be in the wrong, it will be settled definitively, and you must take patience." I repeated what I had so frequently urged before, that our arguments were very intelligible, and should he choose to hear me on the subject, I would in half an hour prove to him that my suit was most perfectly just, without a shade of any difficulty soever, and that the case merely required the will to do justice.

[1] The mission to England of the Cardinal Campeggio in the year 1518, for the purpose of arranging operations against Selim, is recorded by all our historians, who, however, make no mention of the negotiations of this bishop in 1517.

[2] As stated before, the Cardinal Adrian Castel, as he was styled in England, had been appointed ambassador from Henry VIII. to Leo X, on 23rd May 1517; his credentials, it may be supposed, were dated Westminster, 20th May, on which very day the Venetian ambassador wrote from Rome, announcing the arrest of the Cardinals Petrucci and Sauli on a charge of having conspired to take the Pope's life. This seizure took place on the afternoon of 19th May; and on the morrow the Pope told Marco Minio, the ambassador in question, that he had proofs moreover against others, whose names he did not mention. On 29th May, in corroboration of this statement, the Pope seized the Cardinal Riario; and on 9th June, Minio writes that the consistory had sat on the day before, and when it broke up, he and all the other ambassa-

dors—namely, those of the Emperor, England, France, Spain, and Portugal—having been sent for by the Pope, were informed by him that he had pardoned "*the other cardinals*," of whose guilt he had already dropped hints to the diplomatic body, without mentioning their names. The ambassadors answered the Pope, one by one commending this act of leniency; and de' Gigli, the Bishop of Worcester (mentioned in date of 23rd May), inquired whether the pardon extended to all, and received for answer, that his Holiness was not alluding to the prisoners in the castle of St. Angelo—namely, Petrucci, Sauli, and Riario, but to the anonymous culprits, concerning whom Minio writes as follows, at the close of his despatch dated June 9th :—

"With very great difficulty have I been able to learn the names of the cardinals whom the Pontiff has pardoned, as his Holiness has laid very severe censures on such as should reveal them; and requested all us ambassadors yesterday, should we by accident hear who they were, not to publish the fact; but for the information of your Serenity, the individuals are the right reverend Volterra (Francesco Soderini) and Adrian, the misdemeanour of one of whom in particular, was as trivial as possible; and should your Serenity choose to have the names of said right reverends kept secret, I think it could not but be fitting to avoid humiliating them."

Subsequently, in date of 13th June, the crime of Adrian is detailed by Minio as follows:

"This morning, the right reverend Adrian went to the palace with the right reverends Sta. Croce and Grimani, and this to facilitate a settlement of the moneys promised, as I informed your Serenity in my former letters, and he, as it were, asked pardon a second time, although, according to report, his transgression was very slight; for being with the Cardinal of Sienna (Petrucci), and that ribald Master Giovanni Battista of Vercelli (the same who was to have poisoned the Pope's fistula) chancing to pass by, Sienna said, '*That fellow will get the college out of trouble*;' and the right reverend Adrian, for having heard these words, and not reported them, has been in great peril, so as to be obliged to expiate his crime in coin." After this, on 18th June, Minio mentions that the Cardinal Adrian was selling his plate to complete his payments as promised to the Pope, and that the fact was public. On the night of 19th June the Cardinal Soderini, the fellow-victim of the Cardinal Adrian, left Rome, and withdrew himself into the Colonna Castle of Palestrina, a proceeding which very much annoyed the Pope, who on the following night was yet more disquieted by the departure of the Cardinal Adrian himself, though, as he had paid his 12,000 ducats, and received the brief of absolution, he was certainly at liberty so to do: he left Rome at the fourth hour of the night, accompanied by but two attendants, namely, one Friar Stephen, of the order of hermits, who had long been in his service, and his master of the horse.

On the 25th of June all the foreign ambassadors in Rome went on invitation to the Vatican, for the purpose of hearing extracts read from the Petrucci trial, and in confirmation of what has been already stated

about the Cardinal Adrian, it appeared thereby that when Cardinal Petrucci told him of the means by which the surgeon of Vercelli was to rid the college of Cardinals of the Pontiff, he burst out laughing, and shrugged up his shoulders, a gest which Minio says was habitual with him; the motion is certainly not picturesque, but considering how uncouth and graceless a mortal Leo X. himself was, it scarcely became him to punish a mere shrug so inexorably.

On the 4th of July, the Cardinal of Sienna was beheaded in the castle of St. Angelo; and on Monday the 6th, Cardinal Adrian arrived in Venice, and had audience of Doge Loredano and the sages and chiefs of the Ten, to whom he said that he thanked God for his safe arrival in 'the land of promise,' mentioning how he had quitted Rome to get out of the hands of the Pope, after paying 12,000 ducats for a brief, restoring him to favour; but that, not trusting to this, he went into Calabria and over the mountains to the coast, where he embarked and crossed to Zara, where, on making himself known to the Venetian governors of that city, they gave him a ship, on board of which he reached Venice, having been sixteen days on his way from Rome.

On the 7th of July, Sanuto, who did not foresee how much greater regard would be felt in England for the property of this churchman than for his person, writes:—

"In the morning, the Cardinal Adrian having requested a safe-conduct, enabling him to stay in this town and in our dominions, such was made out for him by the Signory in full college, in a public form, and sealed and sent to him.

"It is said he will go and reside at Padua, or *go to England, where he is liked*, and has his income, and is Bishop of Bath on that island, his annual rental there amounting to —— ducats."

The Republic of Venice did not content herself with merely giving a safe-conduct to this ripe and good scholar, but moreover wrote in his favour to the ambassador Minio at Rome, desiring him to try and arrange matters between Adrian and his Holiness; and, consequently, in date of the 13th of July, Minio announces to the State that he had told the Pope of the arrival at Venice of the Cardinal, assuring him that he had spoken in terms of much honour of the person of his Holiness, congratulating himself on the treatment received; and then recommended him in the name of the Signory, adding many bland expressions "to assuage," he writes, "if necessary, the disposition of his Holiness, and this because the last time when he spoke to me about the departure of the Cardinal aforesaid, it was not without some mental irritation.

"Having listened to the whole, his Holiness smiled, and said, 'We likewise have received letters from him: he has acted thus, and does not know why. We are content that he be at Venice.' I rejoined, 'Holy Father! he departed rather out of shame for what had chanced than from any other motive: be your Holiness pleased to hold him for recommended, for he assuredly spoke as much in praise of your Holiness, as your Holiness yourself could desire.' This seemed to please him, and he said, 'And since it is indeed thus, we recommend him to the Signory.'

I thanked his Holiness, and for the sake of confirming him in his intention, said I should write what he had told me to your Sublimity. He rejoined, '*So do, for we are content*;' and from outward signs, the Pontiff appears satisfied with his being at Venice, and then, as his Holiness was on the point of going out, I took leave."

Such was the state of the affairs of the Cardinal Adrian at Rome on the 13th of July; nor was this first seizure of his see of Bath apparently the act of Leo X., but of Wolsey; and in date of August 18th, Minio writes from Rome in confirmation of the fact, thus:—

"The Pontiff has asked the King of England for a loan of 200,000 ducats, and his Majesty promised him 100,000 on condition of his being allowed to levy a tenth on the clergy in his kingdom; and on hearing that the Cardinal Adrian had absented himself from Rome, he deprived him of the bishopric he held there in England, and gave it to the Cardinal of York, and the English ambassador here has taken possession of the new house which the right reverend Adrian was building here in Rome."

[3] It is not clear whether the agency exercised by Chieregato related to the collection of the revenues in England of Adrian, or merely to efforts to get him out of trouble, caused by the Petrucci affair, and to prevent his being despoiled of his see by Cardinal Wolsey: in the original the words are, "Le facende del qual (Adriano) erano procurate dal ditto nuntio."

[4] By a despatch from the Venetian ambassador at Rome, Marco Minio (No. 252, date 20th November, 1518), it is seen that Chieregato was then again in favour with Leo X., and on the eve of departure for Spain, being accredited as nuncio to his Catholic Majesty.

[5] Concerning the voyages of the Venetian merchantmen, styled the "*Flanders galleys*," see *ante*, p. 45, and vol. i. p. 250. Whatever difficulties may have been raised by Cardinal Wolsey about the permit, there can be no doubt but that he was very anxious for the Venetians to renew their trade with England, on the same footing as before the league of Cambray, and in date of Rome, 15th June, 1517, the ambassador Minio wrote to the Signory that the English ambassador (De' Gigli, Bishop of Worcester) had inquired of him, probably by order of Wolsey, whether the galleys were to be sent on the Flanders voyage, and being answered in the affirmative, he repeated several times, "They will really send them! I shall write to the King, for it will afford him great satisfaction."

From the commencement of the thirteenth century, the freight of the Venetian galleys on arriving in England consisted of indigo, incense, gum-arabic, aloes, myrrh, lake, nutmegs, cloves, cardamums, and other spices, ginger, camphor, rice, muslins, silk stuffs, almonds, wax, *cubebs*, oil, malmsey, loaf and crushed sugar, currants, honey, pigments, glass, vitriol, rock alum, and alum from Alexandria, &c. Until the middle of the fifteenth century, the Venetians obtained their sugars from Cyprus, Alexandria, Syria, Damietta, Sicily, and Valentia, and the greater part of the English sugar trade was in their hands; but after the discovery of the island

of Madeira by the Portuguese in 1450, the Levant sugars gave way to those of that island, where the sugar-cane was indigenous; and already, in date of the month of July 1496, Sanuto mentions the arrival in the Venetian lagoons of four Portuguese caravels with 4,000 cases of Madeira sugar. Besides these luxuries, the Venetian galleys were bound by statute (12 Edward IV., A.D. 1472) to bring four bow-staves for every ton of merchandise, and catered thus for the exercise of archery in England, as well as for the concoction there of sack and plum-pudding. Both in the field and at table, at Poictiers and Crecy, as at the "Boar's Head" and other taverns in Eastchepe and elsewhere, the Venetian galleys played their part; and in the course of these Anglo-Venetian notices it will be seen that Christchurch likewise owed some of her most precious Greek MSS. to the Signory of Venice, which, in return for the articles above mentioned, received woollen cloths, wool, tin, and copper.

[6] See *ante*, p. 46.

London, July 31, 1517.

Four days ago, the magnifico the French ambassador had his business settled and departed; the object of his mission, which related to claims for damages, passed off well, the matter having been referred to commissioners, who are to investigate it both at Calais and Boulogne.

Subsequently, I sent my secretary to the right reverend Cardinal to get the patent diminishing the customs, assigning the term of two years for their payment, and authorizing purchases to be made at all seasons; which he gave him according to his promise. I also sent him a writing in my own hand, whereby I pledge myself to the arrival here of the galleys within eight months from the first of August, just impediments excepted. This arrangement, I trust, will prove one of considerable profit and advantage to our merchants.

To-day, I received three letters from your Highness addressed one to this most serene King, another to the right

reverend Cardinal, and the third to the reverend Bishop of Winchester, together with a fourth to my own address, containing a copy of said letters, and telling me what I am to do. I shall obey your instructions to the very letter, and should have gone this very moment to the Court and to the right reverend Cardinal, but both one and the other are abroad for their pleasure. To-morrow, his lordship will be here, and I shall immediately do what is enjoined me. On Sunday the 2nd proximo, when his Majesty returns, I will go to court and give him the letters of your Highness, accompanying them with expressions suited to what I consider your intention.

As the Bishop of Winchester is in his diocese, fifty miles off, I forthwith despatched my son[1] to him with the letters of your Highness and of the right reverend Cardinal Adrian, it appearing to me extremely necessary that the Bishop should receive speedy information, to enable him to treat this matter opportunely with the King and the right reverend Cardinal of York: I should have gone in person, but could not do so, having to see the King and Cardinal; it is my intention, however, to visit the Bishop at Winchester, after my interview with the Court here. I am apprehensive that this business will encounter some difficulty, as the right reverend Cardinal of York has already obtained the see of Adrian *in commendam*. . . .

[1] Marin Giustinian, at the moment of his mission to Fox, Bishop of Winchester, was eight-and-twenty years old. On returning to Venice in 1519, he immediately went into office; and from that period, until the year 1529, he filled in succession the posts of sage for the orders, alias junior lord of the admiralty, auditor, syndic, state attorney, and sage for the main land. In 1532 he was appointed ambassador to Francis I., and was at the French court at Marseilles in 1534, when Catharine de Medici became the bride of the Duke of Orleans. In 1537 Marin Giustinian went on a mission to Ferdinand, King of the Romans, to demand aid against the Turks. In 1541 he was accredited to the

Emperor Charles V., whom he accompanied in his progress through Italy and Germany in that year, and in 1542 accompanied him on the luckless expedition against Algiers; but the vessel in which he embarked, after nearly perishing at sea, put into a Spanish port, and from the hardships undergone he expired immediately on landing. His allusion to English valour in his report of France may be seen in the Introduction, p. 30.

London, August 6, 1517.

It is generally reported here, that the Catholic King is in Zealand for the purpose of embarking, and is only waiting for a fair wind—a fact which I dare not affirm, as his departure has been announced for the last four months. I make no mention of the invasion of Friesland by the Duke of Guelders, nor of the cruelties committed there, not doubting but that you are well acquainted with these circumstances through the most noble Badoer. Here matters appear to tend to peace.

Concerning the affair of the right reverend Adrian, your Excellency will learn that the day after I received your letters I went to the court, and as his Majesty had withdrawn himself with a few of his attendants to a certain remote and unusual habitation, in consequence of this new malady,[1] I experienced great difficulty in speaking with him: this disease makes very quick progress, proving fatal in twenty-four hours at the farthest, and many are carried off in four or five hours. The patients experience nothing but a profuse sweat, which dissolves the frame, and when once the twenty-four hours are passed, all danger is at an end. This week my secretary caught the disease, and was very ill indeed, but is now well, and has been so the last four days without any ailment soever, as your Serenity may

conclude from the handwriting of this despatch: many of my establishment are invalided, so that the sick outnumber the sound. Very few strangers have died, but an immense number of the natives.

On being introduced to his Majesty, under pretence of having to communicate to him matters of great importance —as I should not otherwise have gained admittance, great part of the court being ill of this disease—I presented to him the letters of your Highness, and the one from the right reverend Adrian, which last I extracted from the packet addressed by his lordship to the Cardinal of York, in accordance with the letters received by the reverend nuncio here; since, otherwise, Cardinal Wolsey would never have consigned it to his Majesty. After the King had read the letters, I corroborated their contents in such terms as appeared suitable; whereupon his Majesty answered me, that he was perfectly acquainted with this business through briefs from his Holiness, which assured him that the aforesaid right reverend Adrian was conscious of the charges brought against him, and that he meant to deprive him of his Cardinal's grade and of his benefices. As I had alluded to the absolution, and to the fine of 12,500 ducats which was levied, adding that his absenting himself from Rome had merely been induced by the departure of the right reverend Volterra (Soderini), and to yield to circumstances, not choosing to place his life in jeopardy and in the hands of slanderers, with other suitable expressions, the King replied thereto, "I understand this matter better than you Venetians," to use his precise words, condemning his lordship, and appearing to bear him the worst possible will. This I apprehend proceeds solely from his having been persuaded by the right reverend Cardinal of York, who has obtained the see of Bath *in commendam*, and has already changed the officials,

and taken the administration out of the hands of the reverend Bishop of Winchester; so that Adrian may be said to have an interested adversary in Cardinal Wolsey, who will be his judge in this matter. Thus your Highness may comprehend to what a pass the affairs of the right reverend Adrian are brought.

I went also to present the letters of your Excellency and those of the right reverend Adrian to the Cardinal of York; but his lordship has been ill of this sweating sickness, and would that the perspiration had carried off his wish for these benefices. Many of his household have died of the sweat, and not merely his under attendants but some of the principal ones, so that hitherto I have been unable to do anything further with his right reverend lordship.[2] As soon as he may think fit to receive me, I shall be ready to execute the commands of your Highness, but my belief is that all my labours will prove vain; and I pray God that this interference may not prove detrimental, both to your Excellency and me your agent.

My son, who went to the Bishop of Winchester, returned yesterday, six days after his departure hence, and reported that on arriving at the residence of his lordship, audience was delayed him, because this prelate likewise had taken the sweat, so he returned two days later; when he obtained admission, and a gracious welcome, as is the wont of his lordship, to whom he presented the letters of your Highness and those of the right reverend Adrian. His lordship represented the matter not merely as difficult, but desperate, saying, that we have to deal with the Cardinal, who is not Cardinal but King, and that no one in this realm dare attempt aught in opposition to his interests; that he was already in possession of the see, and that he, the Bishop of Winchester, had resigned the administration to him. Add

to which, the officials had already been changed. He said, moreover, that two pontifical briefs had been despatched hereon,[3] the first of which was very much in aggravation of the charges against the right reverend Adrian, purporting that he had rendered himself liable to be deprived of his Cardinal's grade and benefice, and urging the gift of the Church of Bath *in commendam* to this right reverend Cardinal of York. By the second brief, which the Bishop of Winchester says is of a more recent date, his Holiness appears to be somewhat softened,[4] and delays the execution of the former one. This second brief, however, is not to be found, and your Highness will comprehend by whose means it has been secreted: the secretary of the Bishop of Winchester declares that it exists. His lordship, in short, concludes that a more difficult or desperate enterprise than this could not be undertaken in all England; but that if any hope exists at all, it must be in an appeal to his Holiness, who is usually merciful. There is a letter in conformity with what I write, addressed by the Bishop of Winchester to the reverend nuncio Chieregato, the copy of which I enclose herewith. Your Serenity will consider whether, under existing circumstances, it be desirable to risk offending the Cardinal, in whose hands all the interests of your Highness here are vested.

[1] The "*sudor Britannicus*," or sweating sickness.

[2] Possibly, amongst these chief attendants, Giustinian may have included the King's Latin secretary, Ammonius (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 262). It might have been expected that the ambassador would have mentioned both the death of Ammonius and the departure from England of Chieregato, but he makes no allusion to either event.

[3] The only documents concerning Adrian, Bishop of Bath and Wells, preserved in Rymer, are under date of July and August 1518. See vol. xiii. fols. 607, 609, 622, and 623, edition of 1727.

[4] In consequence, probably, of the intercession of the Venetians, whose ambassador, Marco Minio, advocated the cause of Adrian with Leo X. on 13th July. See *ante*.

London, August 15, 1515.

At present, I have no news of importance to communicate, save that the Catholic King, who it was supposed awaited a fair wind to take him to Spain, is in expectation, so far as one can comprehend, of its blowing from these shores. Yesterday, in fact, 15,000 pounds sterling were sent him, I imagine for no other purpose than the expenses of the voyage.

Your Highness will now learn the fulfilment of my prophecies, concerning the affair of the right reverend Adrian, and how detrimental it is likely to prove to the interests of your Sublimity. Having sent my secretary to the Cardinal of York, to appoint an audience, he was summoned into the presence of his lordship, who made the most terrible complaints ever heard both against your Sublimity and against me; but the loudest fell to my lot, from whom he said he had not anticipated such treatment, and that whereas down to this present he had loved me like a brother, paying me more honour than was ever conceded to an ambassador from your Highness, so would he now oppose me in all my operations. "Your master," he said, "has had the daring to give letters, and to canvass against me, at the request of a rebel against his Holiness! Nor can I but complain of the Signory for taking such a delinquent under her protection." Continuing a long while in this state of mental excitement, he again burst forth to the Secretary thus, "I charge your ambassador and you not to write anything out of the kingdom without my consent, under pain of the indignation of the King, and of the heaviest penalties," which expressions and all those above-mentioned, he repeated several times, becoming more and more exasperated. While thus irritated, he held a cane in his hand, and kept gnawing it with his teeth.[1]

The Secretary answered him, "My right reverend lord, may it please your right reverend lordship not to complain either of the most illustrious Signory, nor yet of the ambassador, for the former was induced to write to the most serene King, to your right reverend lordship, and to the reverend Bishop of Winchester, at the suit of the right reverend Adrian, who came to Venice, even into the chamber of the most serene Prince, exculpating himself from the accusations laid to his charge, and requesting with all earnestness this intercession, which he thought would profit him, considering the confederacy which exists between his Majesty and the most illustrious Signory, who was not then aware that the see of Bath had been given *in commendam* to your right reverend lordship. With regard indeed to the ambassador, what he did was by command of the most illustrious Signory, who enjoined his delivering the letters according to their address, and executing the commission given him; nor did he act thus to offend your right reverend lordship, to whom he is extremely attached by love incomparable; and to do the like would be the last thing in the world he could have imagined; and on hearing this, the ambassador will prove to your right reverend lordship that neither the most illustrious Signory nor himself are at all to blame." The Secretary persisting in his defence of either party, and endeavouring to make an appointment for me to go and speak to his right reverend lordship, obtained no other reply, than *probatio amoris est exhibitio operis*, and with this he took leave. The secretary having reported these facts to me, your Highness may imagine the state of my mind, although nothing had taken place but what I foresaw; so in the morning very early, I went to speak to his right reverend lordship, and as he was yet in bed, I waited more than three hours. At length, having pressed

for audience, he sent me word that he was in bed, somewhat indisposed,[2] and could not receive me. Being aware that this non-admission proceeded from his wrath, which not only had not subsided, but induced him, moreover, to decline listening to my exculpation, I determined on going to the reverend Bishop of Durham, who seems to be acquainted with all his operations, and explained to him this matter in detail, exculpating your Excellency by all such arguments as occurred to me, and apologizing for myself on the score of being a mere agent; omitting nothing which I deemed suited to this topic; requesting him earnestly to interpose his good offices, and persuade his lordship to admit me, that I might justify both your Sublimity and myself. The bishop appeared utterly unconscious of the Cardinal's ire, and admitted my apologies, in such wise, as to seem convinced that this recommendation had been really most becoming on the part of your Signory, and that I was equally commendable for executing your commands, and he promised to mediate, and contrive that I should be admitted to-morrow, when I shall go to the Cardinal, and unless he prove a rock, and reject all reason, I hope to appease him. * * *

[1] Cardinal Wolsey's custom of carrying a cane is alluded to by Skelton in the following lines:—

"In Chamber of Stars,
All matters there he mars;
Clapping his *rod* on the board,
No man dare speak a word;
For he hath all the saying
Without any renaying.
He rolleth in his Records;
He sayeth, How say ye, my lords?
Is not my reason good?
Some say, Yes; and some
Sit still as they were dumb."

[2] From another despatch of Giustinian, dated August 12th, we learn that Wolsey had suffered from three attacks of the sweating sickness, all within a fortnight.

London, August 17, 1517.

Having again visited the Bishop of Durham, to hear what he had done, he told me that he found the Cardinal so disquieted and wrath with your Sublimity and me, that words could not exceed it; that he had stated to him all the arguments alleged by me, and received for answer, "Meddle no farther in this matter, for I will hear neither exculpation nor justification, as this is too marked a misdeed; the choosing to recommend a rebel to the Church in opposition to me, who have favoured their affairs, and honoured this ambassador more than ever was customary with any of his predecessors, treating him not otherwise than if he had been my brother;" saying he could not bear such great ingratitude. The Bishop, therefore, advised me to pass it by, and for a few days avoid meeting the Cardinal, until he had laid aside this anger. I told him it was well to give way to wrath, but that to appear to hold his indignation in small account, would irritate him yet more, and convert his wrath into hatred; so I determined to let yesterday pass, and this morning early, I went to his right reverend lordship, and having through several channels (ever maintaining the decorum of my public character) sought for audience, I was called, and commenced occupying his right reverend lordship by requesting he would deign graciously to lend me his ears, and that he himself, and not his passions, might judge my case; for that I could never hope that my reasons, which were manifold, could effect aught, should his right reverend

lordship choose to combat them in the state of perturbation which had seized him; and that to make a sick man whole, who himself resisted his cure, was impossible; but that I knew his right reverend lordship to be endowed with so much wisdom, goodness, and moderation, that he would weigh my reasons against the cause of his perturbation.

I then commenced narrating to him the course of events from the arrival of the right reverend Adrian at Venice, down to my compliance here with the instructions contained in your Serenity's letters, showing from step to step that I had omitted nothing which I ought to have done, and that in these proceedings I had acted sincerely and openly, not like such as wish to employ deceit. I will not detail my mode of proceeding (which was perfectly becoming) in this matter, to avoid being tedious, but I brought his right reverend lordship to such a pass, that he seemed to hold me exculpated, as I had really done what was enjoined me. But all the odium which at first attached itself to me was then turned by him against your Sublimity, upon which I told him, that, if I had done nothing deserving of his indignation, much less could such be merited by your most illustrious Signory, as the difference between the operations of your Sublimity and mine was as great as that which exists between the impossible and the possible; since your Highness being ignorant even now, and not having known that by recommending the affairs of the right reverend Adrian you affected the interests of his right reverend lordship, to whom the see of Bath was given *in commendam*, it was impossible for you to have offended him, seeing that, according to the sages, voluntary acts alone obtain the epithet of sin or injury; nor is anything considered voluntary, if it proceeds from compulsion or ignorance of a fact; and that although your Highness had not been compelled, yet were you perfectly

ignorant of the fact, not knowing that to have the see of Bath restored to the Cardinal Adrian, is to take it away from his right reverend lordship; and this being unknown to you, you could not have done him an injury, or aught deserving of his indignation; and, that had you anticipated offending him, you would have preferred subjecting yourself to ill-will, by offending the whole college of cardinals rather than his right reverend lordship, who, you consider, bears you both love and favour on all occasions; adding many other words of this tenor. Whilst delivering this defence, I could not express to your Highness the rabid and insolent language used by him, both against your Sublimity and myself, repeating, as he did, several times that he held me not in the slightest account, nor yet the Venetians, who were wont to favour ribalds and rebels, and to persecute the good, and that God and the potentates of the world would avenge such deeds; and that your Highness was always for the rebels of the Church, and opposed to the Pontiffs, past and present, and that for this you had done penance, and were accustomed to proceed with deceit and mendacity; and that the city of Venice would be a seat for conspirators against the Pontiffs, on which accounts he meant to be the State's bitter enemy and mine, though at the same time, by reason of my other good qualities, he regretted my being the minister of such iniquities; and that your Signory would also find that his Majesty took this thing very much amiss, saying, "Go on, and write to the State to proceed in favouring rebels against me; for she will see what victory she will gain."

These things were uttered by his right reverend lordship, whilst I was speaking, and they were the last things said, in such wise, that when he asserted that your Sublimity had done him an injury by seeking to favour the Cardinal aforesaid, I then answered him as above, declaring that you had

not done so knowingly, with the intention of offending him; and to that part where he said that your Highness and I were to go on favouring such rebels, I answered him, that should your Excellency proceed, when acquainted with these particulars, you could no longer be excused on the plea of ignorance of the fact, but that I had no doubt your Excellency would not again attempt this matter. On the contrary, I was of opinion that you would write and acquaint him with your innocence in conformity with my statement; and as he seemed to complain extremely that your Sublimity had not written to me to communicate the matter first to him, before delivering the letters to the King, so that I might regulate myself according to his instructions, I told him that this was not the custom of our State, for that your Excellency is wont to write your intention to your ambassadors, whom it behoves carry such into effect; though it was true that when you anticipated any difficulty, the ambassadors are in the habit of availing themselves of the intercession of great personages attached to sovereigns. This seeming to me an admirable device for appeasing him, I said I had yesterday received letters of the 22nd July, whereby your Serenity informed me of the good disposition of the Pontiff towards said right reverend Adrian,[1] and that his Holiness had told your ambassador, resident at Rome, that he thanked your Excellency for having received him, and was content that he should be at Venice; and had heard with pleasure that the right reverend Adrian aforesaid, spoke in terms of honour of his Holiness. I also showed him these letters, and told him, that to prove to his right reverend lordship that the will of your Excellency was in unison with his own, and that I your minister was not going to do what was disagreeable to him, I should leave the letter with him, and would receive his instructions about communicating it to the

King or not; as I considered that my chief object in this kingdom was to preserve to myself the favour and friendship of his right reverend lordship, who answered me, "I do not believe in the letters which you tell me of; for six days ago, I received a brief from his Holiness, purporting, that were the Venetians to write aught to me in exculpation of the Cardinal aforesaid, I was to credit nothing soever."[2]

To so much asperity and insolent language lavished on me during my discourse, I made no reply, appearing not to have heard a good part of it, and continued my narrative. This I did, because I deemed it more decorous for your Highness to feign deafness, rather than seem to hear and omit making such answers as in honour bound—a course which would not be expedient for your Highness under existing circumstances. At that part, however, where he said your Excellency had been adverse to the Church, I told him, that had your Highness not done for holy Mother Church more than the other potentates, whether against the infidel or against the Empire and others who had harassed her, yet were you at least equal to those who have effected more in her behalf.

At length, after this long colloquy, his right reverend lordship, both in fact and by his words and manner, seemed to be much appeased, so that half the battle may be said to have been gained, though he concluded thus: that should your Highness persevere in favouring this rebel-poisoner of the Church (who was said to have also poisoned Pope Alexander), his Majesty and he himself would show themselves most hostile to you; not for the sake of the benefices, but from antipathy to those who favour the enemies of his Holiness. I think, therefore, I may draw this inference: that should your Excellency desist from this recommendation, and write a soothing letter according to your ability,

peace will be made, and your reconciliation effected, nor cause be given for provoking the wrath of this most serene King, which is not needed in these times. Should you after all, for reasons of your own,[3] think fit to persevere in the course commenced, your Highness may be sure that I shall perform my duty stoutly, without any hesitation, for the words of others do not frighten me, nor yet the chastisement of any one, unless it proceed from God or from the Signory. Should it happen, moreover, that his right reverend lordship again give vent to such insolent language, and that your Highness think proper for me to answer him vehemently, I shall do to the letter what you may desire; nor have I dreaded or parried this business from any private interest of my own, since from this kingdom I have never received any personal service to the value of one farthing, nor do I wish for such, and all I have done has been with a view to prevent his right reverend lordship from injuring the interests of your Highness. * * *

[1] It would appear by this, that the Signory had sent to the ambassador Giustinian a copy of the paragraphs contained in the despatch from Rome, dated July 13th, to which allusion has been made at p. 116, and the document arrived most opportunely, as it served to calm the wrath of Cardinal Wolsey, not from its contents, but because they were communicated to him, and not to the King.

[2] The affair of Cardinal Adrian, who was protected at Rome by the ambassadors from Maximilian and from France, as well as by the Venetians, continued in abeyance until July 1518, when Leo X. *proposed* in the *Consistory* to give the see of Bath to Cardinal Wolsey. The palace in which Adrian used to reside on the Corso was then bestowed by the Pope on the Governor of Rome. A new palace then being built by *the opulent cardinal* (as he was styled) in the Borgo, was given to Cardinal Cibo. In date of August 18, 1517, Minio writes from Rome that de' Gigli, the Bishop of Worcester, had then seized the new house which Adrian was building in *Borgo*; though by this closing account it would seem that the Pope chose to have that part of the spoil for his nephew, Cibo, but it appears to have been subsequently claimed by Henry VIII., who, in the reign of Pope Clement VII., is said to have given it to Cardinal Campeggio on his return to Rome, A.D. 1529, as a mark of

satisfaction at his conduct in the divorce case of Queen Catharine. This "new palace" of Cardinal Adrian may yet be seen at Rome, where it sometimes goes by the name of "the old palace of the English embassy;" it is in the *Borgo Nuovo*, in front of the Piazza S. Giacomo Scossa Cavalli, and is a large stone-built edifice of simple architecture designed by Bramante. After the days of Campejus it was converted into an ecclesiastical academy; later it became the residence of different princely proprietors, and now belongs to the Tortonia family. The vineyard in which Pope Alexander VI. took his last supper, fell to the lot of Count Annibale Rangone, the captain of the body-guard of Leo X.; and in date of August 5th, 1518, Minio writes, that in the last consistory, the benefices of Cardinal Adrian had been formally bestowed on the Cardinal of York, who had written to the Pope that, provided he would degrade Adrian, and give him his see, confirming to him the post of legate in perpetuity, that the honour of the agreement between Henry VIII. and Francis I., by which England surrendered Tournai, should be attributed to his Holiness; details which exist in the portfolio of Marco Minio, who resided as ambassador at Rome from the spring of 1517 until March 1520.

[3] In the omitted portion of a previous despatch, the ambassador allows a hint to escape him that the Signory meant probably to avail themselves of the influence of Adrian with the Emperor; and in the report of the court of Rome made to the Venetian Senate on the 17th of March, 1517, by the ambassador Marin Zorzi, who had been accredited by the Republic to Leo X. from the year 1515 until that time, there is the following allusion to the Ghibelline bias of Cardinal Adrian:—

"The Cardinal Adrian, who was in this town, and had been the secretary of Julius, and the Signory helped to get him made Cardinal; but he seems to adhere to the wishes of the Emperor, and does his business." (See the Reports of Rome, edited by Gar. Florence, 1846, p. 57.) By this, likewise, it would appear that the gratitude displayed by Cardinal Adrian for the protection conceded to him by Venice from 1507 to 1513, as already, mentioned, scarcely entitled him to their farther good offices.

London, August 27, 1517.

I have been unable to communicate the news from your Serenity, as his Majesty is at a place called Windsor, alone with his physician[1] and the reverend Master Dionysius Memo and three of his favourite gentlemen; nor does he admit any one, for fear of this disease, which is now making

very great progress in the land, so that many of those who accompanied the King have died, and it is said that his Majesty means to change his quarters. The Cardinal also has been ill of this malady until now, this being the fourth time that he has had it. To-day I went to his right reverend lordship, with whom I was unable to confer, as he was busy despatching the commissioners for the disputes about damages incurred by the French, and who are to leave to-morrow. The affairs between Scotland and his Majesty are arranged in every respect, save some few and trifling particulars which this side will not consent to; they will be entirely settled, however, the matter not being such as to make the Scotch break off, rather than relinquish them.

The Catholic King is still in Zealand, and less is said about his departure now than two months ago, though the general opinion is that he waits but for the weather.

Yesterday, I saw a letter from an ambassador of his Majesty resident with the Switzers,[2] who is also acquainted with the proceedings between the Emperor and this kingdom, addressed to a worthy man of this city, containing certain details, from which it results that the understanding between the Emperor and this most serene King, as also with the Switzers, is not so good as it has been. This coolness arises from the fact that they all want money, and that to a greater amount than is agreeable to the court here, which, as proved by a variety of circumstances, is not so munificent as it used to be. I do not know whether this proceed from the lack of funds, or because those in authority begin to think it prudent to husband their resources for their own needs, the contrary having been their custom hitherto.

[1] In the year 1523 the physicians of Henry VIII. were John Chamber, Thomas Linacre, and Fernandus de Victoria. (See Statutes of the

Realm, vol. iii. p. 213.) It is not known which of these three accompanied the King to Windsor in August, 1517.

[2] Namely, the secretary, Richard Pace.

London, August 31, 1517.

Having sent my Secretary several times to the right reverend Cardinal to appoint a time for communicating the Turkish news, and to see whether his right reverend lordship was as ill disposed as usual, he never could succeed in this; so at length as his lordship was going on a pilgrimage to fulfil a vow of his at a shrine, distant some hundred miles hence, I determined at any rate on speaking to him before his departure, and went to-day without making any farther appointment. After I had waited awhile, I was followed by the reverend Spanish ambassador, who obtained admission immediately; and when his lordship departed, after again waiting a good time I was at length introduced. I found his right reverend lordship with a troubled countenance and bent brow, and after making my obeisance to him, I imparted the Turkish news, when, without returning thanks, or appearing obliged by the attention, he said similar intelligence had reached him through another channel. Perceiving that he said nothing at all to me, on this or any other topic, I then offered to accompany his right reverend lordship on his journey with an honourable train, at my own cost; but without appearing flattered even by this proposal, he said he had no need of any additional company beyond his own retinue, which was both honourable and numerous.[1] He has been ill of late, and really his appearance, in addition to his mental perturbation, indicates this, although the profuse perspiration endured by him, has not yet quite carried

off his wrath. As, however, by proceeding with gentleness and affability, I withstood the first shock, so shall I bear these other demonstrations, in such wise that he will have no cause from me to increase his wrath but rather to quench the flame already kindled, according to the system which it has behoved me follow throughout this legation, as your Signory will learn more amply, through the report of my labours, on my coming to pay my respects to your Highness, which I pray God and the Signory to grant me speedily.

I have been assured by the Secretary of the most illustrious Duke of Albany, that the truces between this kingdom and Scotland have been prolonged for one year after next St. Andrew's day. The Secretary adds his belief that the Duke, who is now at the French court, will not return this year to Scotland, where a regency of six is to govern everything in his name.

[1] The Virgin's shrine at Walsingham, in Norfolk, to which Cardinal Wolsey was going at the close of August, 1517, in consequence most probably of a vow made when suffering from the sweating sickness, had many votaries in England before the Reformation; and after Flodden Field, Queen Catharine closes a letter to the King, in date of Woborne, 16th September 1513, thus, "And with this I make an ende, praying God to send you home shortly: for without this no joye here can be accomplished: and for the same I pray, *and now go to our Lady at Walsingham, that I promised soe longe agoe to see.*" In 1487, moreover, when Lambert Simnel invaded England, Henry VII. also paid his devotions to our Lady of Walsingham.

London, September 12, 1517.

* * * It has transpired within the last few days that a fresh ambassador from the Emperor has arrived; but as reported, and as may be inferred from his retinue, he is not

a personage of account, neither, as we understand, has he come to reside here as ambassador in ordinary, but on special business relating to the Emperor; supposed, in short, to be a demand for money. Although some days have elapsed since his arrival, he has not yet had audience either of the King or Cardinal; for his Majesty, as I wrote, has kept himself aloof at Windsor, from fear of the sweating sickness, which has made immense havoc at the Court, and the right reverend Cardinal is now gone to Walsingham, a hundred miles hence; the latter, indeed, also declined seeing him, although he arrived before his departure, and notwithstanding his importunity for audience. This induces me to think it true that he came for money, and that the fact was known to these lords.[1]

[1] As in a despatch from Rome (No. 195), dated 29th May 1518, the Venetian ambassador alludes to favour shown to Cardinal Adrian by Maximilian, through his ambassador Alberto Pio, Count of Carpi (a fit intercessor for one of the most elegant Latin scholars of his day, seeing that, as already stated at p. 19, the Count of Carpi was a member of the Aldine committee), it may be inferred that the treatment experienced by the Imperial agent in London, in September 1517, proceeded from the same cause as the rudeness to which Giustinian himself had been subjected.

Westminster, September 26, 1517.

Having left London, to avoid the plague, which is making some progress, I heard to-day of the discovery of another conspiracy formed by the populace for the purpose of cutting all the strangers to pieces and sacking their houses;[1] the plot having been arranged for Michaelmas eve. I fancy this outbreak was suggested by the absence of the King and Cardinal, and other lords of the kingdom, who have gone into the country, on which account they thought they

had a good opportunity for wreaking their vengeance. Up to the present time, three of the ringleaders have been arrested. The city is armed for its defence, and last night upwards of 3,000 householders and public functionaries were in battle array for the prevention of so great an outrage; unless the whole town be infected, therefore, I trust this measure may extinguish the flame. The circumstance has appeared to me worthy of being notified to your Highness, whom I pray and beseech to deign at length to grant my suit, and enable me to return home, as both the period of my sojourn abroad, and my age, and the situation of my family, require it. I do not imagine that your Serenity desires my ruin, nor do I perceive that there is any such important business for negotiation here, that your Highness should detain me at so great a risk to my person and property, and at such cost as it behoves me incur. After this session,[2] which will last all October, and be attended by the greater part of the personages of this kingdom, the affair of the wines will be discussed, as already settled by the Cardinal, and when once that is despatched, I know not what should delay me here: were there any matter of importance, I should willingly expose myself to any peril; but as such does not exist, do your Highness deign to grant me the grace of returning home.

[1] Hall does not make any allusion to this sequel to "Evil May Day," which shows that the insurrection extended beyond the period assigned to it in his annals.

[2] The session alluded to is that of the new Court, held in the Lord Treasurer's chamber. See note page 32.

Westminster, October 8, 1517.

I went to-day to the right reverend Cardinal, after having preferred great suit during several days, for audience, which was obtained with difficulty, and at length being called by him, I commenced with congratulations on his return and excellent health, and communicated the summaries from Constantinople, which he listened to attentively, but as usual with a troubled countenance. I next stated to him the contents of your Excellency's letter of apology, concerning the affairs of the right reverend Adrian, omitting such parts as did not seem to me suited to the purpose, and urging upon him the palpable evidence of your having acted innocently in this matter. His right reverend lordship replied, "I do not doubt but that the Signory did not write with the intention of offending me, and believe as you say that the circumstances were not understood at Venice; still you cannot acquit yourself of having done evil against me, contrary to your debt of gratitude, considering the love I bore you; and in truth, I should have expected such an injury from any other person in the world, rather than from you." He proceeded thus with such wrath and violence, and so much threatening and bitter language, that I could not repeat the half of it; in fact, he hemmed me in on every side, and great need had I of my patience, to tolerate what he said to me. I replied, however, with all moderation and gentleness, confuting his accusations; though the more I exonerated myself, the more heavily did he burden me; yet without provoking any deviation on my part beyond the due bounds of discretion. After awhile, my gentleness overcame his arrogance, and he said, "Domine Orator, your language and manner convince me that you are innocent of all deceit, and your Signory likewise, and I own

myself vanquished, and receive you as that good and very dear friend which you have always been to me," and to use his precise words, although it may seem immodest in me to repeat them, he added, "I regretted that a man of your ability and worth should be deceived by a ribald; and for the future I shall be more yours, and the Signory's likewise, than ever." After this, his lordship having in his anger suspended the grant of the patent made to our merchants, I besought him at length to despatch that matter, and he answered me, "*Per Deum*, I had suspended its execution, because I was the enemy of the State, and your own also; but I have remitted all your sins, and will complete the patent, and treat you as a friend." He then told me that your Sublimity should not trust the Cardinal Adrian, as what you communicate to him, he writes to the Emperor, and thus he said he had heard several times within the last few days; and that, in fact, he had always acted thus with the Emperor against your Highness;[1] although I but slightly credit this, I appeared to believe it, and to accept his suggestion as paternal, and induced by his affection for your Highness, thanking him for his good will. I imagine, most serene Prince, that this reconciliation will prove agreeable to your Highness, as it was especially so to me, because I am thoroughly convinced that I can do nothing of any avail for your Highness, with this wind in my teeth; and you may believe for certain that I, who was aware of the consequences of negotiating this matter, should not have complied with the contents of your letters, had you left me the option as you sometimes do with regard to communicating the summaries.

The Imperial and Spanish ambassadors confer frequently with the Cardinal; and since his return, they have dined with him twice, an unusual circumstance. I strongly sus-

pect some fresh negotiations between these three confederates.

His right reverend lordship also said to me, while talking, that he, together with the King of France and others, had been the cause of his Holiness getting the better of the Della Rovere Duke of Urbino, and that he hoped a general peace would now ensue, as he wished for nothing else; to which end I encouraged him as much as possible, thanking him for his good faith and Christian intention, which, if realized, would obtain him immortal glory. On taking leave of his lordship, he, contrary to custom, gave me his hand to kiss, in token of reconciliation and peace; he also embraced both me and my secretary.

[1] This accusation brought against the Cardinal Bishop of Bath, by Cardinal Wolsey, might be considered malicious, but it seems confirmed by the report of Marin Zorzi. See note 3, p. 126.

London, October 10, 1517.

Certain intelligence has been received here of the arrival in Spain of the Catholic King, who landed in Gallicia on the 19th ultimo. The Count Bartholomea Tationo, who has been here a long while as resident ambassador from the Emperor, is gone away; I imagine on account of some negotiation between these confederates, as written in my foregoing, for from what I can comprehend, the individual who remains in his stead is a very trivial personage, nor do I think he would have stayed, unless the Count Bartholomew aforesaid had intended returning; and I am induced to draw this inference from having (as I wrote) seen the Imperial ambassador and the Spaniard in frequent conference

with the right reverend Cardinal, more so than usual; nothing certain, however, is known.

London, November 11, 1517.

Since my last, I have received two missives from your Signory, dated the 12th and 17th of September, which reached me, the one on the 5th instant, and the other on the 23rd October, with the summaries from the Levant, which I delayed communicating, owing to the absence of Cardinal Wolsey, who came hither for two days; and as the plague was making great progress, went back to a certain place of his, where he will remain until after Christmas; and all business, both public and private, has on this account been postponed. * * *

Two ambassadors have arrived here from the most Christian King, namely, the right reverend Bishop of Paris and Monseigneur de la Gissa (Guiche). I went to visit them, employing the most bland and loving language possible, which they warmly reciprocated. They went to the King in his retirement, and though they did not obtain admission, from fear of the plague, they say they shall be soon despatched. I endeavoured to learn the cause of their coming, but the reverend Bishop of Ely[1] having made his appearance on behalf of the Cardinal, I had no opportunity. It is said they are come about certain reprisals; but I do not believe that envoys of such dignity would have been sent on so trivial an errand, especially as the aforesaid Bishop of Ely and the Lord Chamberlain,[2] who had been appointed as envoys to France, will now not go there.

The King is abroad, and keeps moving from one place to

another, on account of the plague, which has made great ravage in the King's household, some of the royal pages, who slept in his Majesty's chamber, having died; so he has dismissed the whole court, both his own and that of the most serene Queen, and only three of his favourite gentlemen have remained with his Majesty, together with the Reverend Dionysius Memo, who all accompany the King and Queen through every peril. Neither his Majesty nor the Cardinal will return until after the Christmas holidays, and then only provided the plague cease. * * *

Very violent storms have been raging here, and especially on St. Luke's eve, when, in the first place, four large ships, freighted with various merchandise for Flanders, perished in the channel; and eighty-four fishing vessels, averaging from fifty to one hundred butts each, with their crews, were also lost.

[1] Nicholas West, LL.D., Bishop of Ely, and chaplain of Queen Catharine. His father had been a baker near Fulham, which was the birthplace of this prelate, who incurred the disgrace of Henry VIII. for his adhesion and kindness to the Queen at the time of the divorce, and died of grief, gout, and fistula, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VIII. In 1519, February 10, West surrendered Tournai to France, and his communications with the French envoys in 1517 (Nov.) probably related to affairs connected with that act. There is a notice of West in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 676.

[2] The Earl of Worcester, see p. 107.

London, November 21, 1517.

Last night the French ambassadors returned from the court, and this morning I sent my secretary to make an appointment with them for a visit this afternoon, to which they strongly objected; their wish being to return my

former visit. The secretary refused to accede to this, and returned to warn me of their intention; but before I could set out to anticipate them, they arrived.

After becoming compliments, I gave them the news from the Levant, and mentioned the coming of the two ambassadors from the Pope and from Hungary, laying great stress on the Pontiff's statement about the good understanding between his Holiness and the most Christian King.[1] After much had been said on this point, the Bishop of Paris told me they had been to the King, who had received them very well indeed, making them every demonstration of good will; he had also settled with them the two questions about reprisals and boundaries. After this, he said to me, "We are aware that we may speak as freely with you as amongst ourselves, for the most Christian King will acquaint your ambassador with the whole. We will therefore inform you that we have urged the surrender of Tournai, the reasons advanced by us being the great expense of the city and its near neighbourhood to the territory of the Catholic King." His Majesty, they informed me, seemed, on certain conditions, to assent; and as they did not tell me what these terms were, I inquired whether he wished to augment the annual tribute received by him from France. They answered in the affirmative, and that the business might be considered settled, but dependant on the will of his most Christian Majesty; at the same time, should it not take effect, this transaction would not occasion any dissension between these Princes, as his Majesty here appears as well disposed as could be wished, saying that he chose ever to be the good brother of the most Christian King, and wished always to maintain the peace and confederacy existing between them. On my asking whether the King of England had made any mention of the Duke of Albany, the Bishop of Paris

replied, smiling, "You know all: it is true that his Majesty was very anxious to prevent the return of the Duke, who is now in France," but he had answered him that the Duke of Albany was next in succession, should the present young King die without heirs; and that the Scots insisted on his being regent, and that this had not been effected by force, but voluntarily. The Bishop added, that the Duke of Albany had charge of the realm, but not of the King, in order to prevent foul play: and the education was confided to certain chiefs elected by the kingdom, and approved by the King of England. To prohibit the Duke's return, he said, was impossible, as it would be contrary to the national will, and at variance with the confederacy which has existed between France and Scotland since the days of Charlemagne until now. To this, I was given to understand, the King assented, and was far from intending to break the confederacy maintained with his most Christian Majesty on this account, so that these ambassadors depart well satisfied, and pefectly convinced that everything remains at the option of the most Christian King. After these colloquies, I assured them that in this kingdom I was not less the ambassador of France than of Venice, and that in everything which had chanced, whenever in my power to give satisfaction, I had done so, and that I even communicated matters unconnected with myself to the ambassadors of the most Christian King residing at this court, which I should continue to do in future. I pressed them to come and dine with me to-morrow, but they made many apologies, saying they must by all means depart to-morrow morning, requesting me to preserve the good offices I had maintained, and with this they went away, being accompanied by me until they mounted their horses.

[1] The ambassador sent by Leo X. to Venice was Altobello degli Averoldi, the natural son of Zane, Bishop of Spalatro; and in date of Viterbo, October 3, Marco Minio mentions his being then on the road. A present made by this prelate to the chapel of the Cross is yet visible in St. Mark's church, namely, two bronze candelabra, the work of Maffeo Olivieri of Brescia, which are exquisitely wrought.

London, December 10, 1517.

* * * On Saint Andrew's Day there was a great storm in these parts, and eight ships of divers nations were wrecked, some bound to Flanders, and some to England. The galleys of your Highness are expected with anxiety; I hope they will do well, as the numerous shipwrecks which have chanced recently, will make good market for their cargoes. I am informed the King longs for their coming, and that his Majesty means to go to Hampton, saying he shall purchase many articles of luxury (gentilezze), usually brought by said galleys, the which may the Lord send safe.

De rebus publicis nil est; nothing is talked of but peace, so that I hope to witness this confederacy between all the Princes of Christendom.

London, December 22, 1517.

By my last of the 10th instant, your Highness will have heard what little had happened here. I have nothing of importance to communicate at present, owing to the absence of the most serene King and right reverend Cardinal and all these lords, who will remain abroad until the Epiphany.

Universal complaints are heard on account of the absence of the court, which is occasioned solely by fear of the plague, that has now abated somewhat.

On the 14th I received letters from your Highness which I could scarcely decypher, owing to the storm encountered by their bearer, so that they were drenched and illegible, though I did contrive to make out the news of the fresh alliance formed between your Highness and the most Christian King, *quæ felix faustaque sit.* This intelligence was desirable, as I doubt not but that mention thereof will be made to me by these English ministers, who I fancy will not be glad to hear it.

A report circulates here, for which however I do not vouch, that the Catholic King is negotiating a marriage with the daughter of the most serene King of Portugal; the truth will I believe be better known to your Highness, than to the vulgar here.[1]

The English ambassadors who went to France three months ago to settle the claims for damages, have returned *re infectâ:* they assign as cause, the nature of the French, who, they say, will not abide by reason. I am unable to say what the result of this may be, until the return of some of these lords, but I do not imagine it can produce any mischief, as I perceive this side to be inclined to peace, and wish to accumulate, rather than to disburse their money.

Although convinced that, ere now, your Highness will have provided me with a successor, I must still repeat my entreaties to that effect, for time presses. It is now three years since I assumed this (I know not whether I ought to call it) legation, or (from its prolonged term) re-legation. I do not doubt but you will have had regard for my age and circumstances, which suffer from my absence to my serious detriment; and I promise your Excellency that for the last

year my expenses here have exceeded by one third what they were previously, owing to the great scarcity of provisions, so that I am spending my own capital. I know that this will perhaps not be credited, but I trust in God, that your Excellency may be assured of it, by those who may return to Venice.

Your Sublimity is aware of my position, so I implore you to be pleased to provide for me speedily; and for the sake of not failing myself, I have sent my son in person to Venice to urge my suit.

P. S. I have understood that the negotiation for espousals between the most serene Catholic King and the King of Portugal, is in this fashion: that the Catholic King do take for wife the daughter of the most serene King of Portugal, and give a sister of his in marriage to the eldest son of the aforesaid King of Portugal.

[1] It would be difficult to ascertain when King Charles first thought seriously of Elizabeth, the daughter of Emmanuel of Portugal, whom he married A.D. 1526. In the year 1517 he was engaged to the infant daughter of Francis I., an alliance which he renounced in 1521 in favour of Mary Tudor, who in her turn was deserted for the Portuguese princess, of whose marriage this is the earliest mention. The report mentioned in the P.S. of this letter concerning the marriage of Emmanuel's *son* to Eleanor, the sister of King Charles, was certainly a mistake, for the *fortunate grocer* married her himself. His *first* wife, A.D. 1491, was the Infanta Isabella (sister of Queen Catharine of Aragon); on her death in 1498 he married (A.D. 1500) her sister, the Infanta Maria; and finally, in 1519, became the husband of Eleanor of Austria, the sister of King Charles, the Infanta Maria having died A.D. 1517.

London, January 16, 1518.

Since my last, which were in date of the 22nd, I have delayed writing to your Sublimity longer than usual, as

nothing has happened worthy of your knowledge, owing to the absence of the courts;[1] nor do I know when they will return, especially that of his Majesty, who will remain abroad until the utter cessation of the plague.

The right reverend Cardinal had indeed settled to come back after the 22nd instant, his presence being required for the despatch of many affairs of State, in which his lordship is sole arbiter. On his arrival, I will visit him, and endeavour to negotiate the affair of the wines; though from the accumulated business he will have to dispose of, I doubt being able to discuss this matter for a whole month.

I lately received a visit from *one* Master Richard Pace,[2] who was a long while ambassador from his Majesty in Switzerland,[3] and has now been recalled, leaving the affairs of the cantons in a state of peace. He is in great favour with the King, and his honoured by all the grandees here; the third seat in the Privy Council[4] has been conferred upon him. This individual was *alias* secretary to the late right reverend Cardinal of York, the very great friend of your Highness,[5] and his soul really seems to have transmigrated into that of his said secretary, who evinces so much affection towards the interests of your Highness, that more could not be desired. He said that he had received greater honours than became his private capacity; that he had been admitted into the Bucintor on Ascension Day,[6] and entertained constantly by your Excellency, solely because you heard he was an Englishman; on which account he blazons abroad the great honour done by your Highness to the English, for which, he regrets that you should meet with a bad return. He vaunts the power, authority, and wisdom of the most excellent State, *supra modum*, and tells me that he gave account of everything both to the King and Cardinal, assuring them also, that seven years will not elapse ere your Excellency will

be the mistress of Italy, as you will speedily recover your pecuniary sacrifices; and, should the King of France choose to plot and act against your Signory, you might resume hostilities, and with your own power and some little assistance, obtain the Milanese; after which, it would be easy to get the rest. He declares, in fact, that this really will come to pass; as it is understood that this most Christian Majesty has been negotiating by letters, and through his ambassadors, with the Emperor, to bring him over to his side, and detach him from England, offering, it seems, with his forces and treasure, to obtain the possessions of your Sublimity on the main land, and to consign them to his Imperial Majesty aforesaid. The secretary added many other expressions in this sense, promising to perform such good service as he deems the wish of your Highness. To this I replied, thanking him for his visit, as likewise for his good will towards your Excellency, and for the good report made to his Majesty, for which your Signory, and I, your dependent, were extremely indebted to him. With regard to making yourself the mistress of Italy, which I knew was an opinion well nigh universal, though detrimental to the interests of your Signory, and calculated to subject you to envy and disturbance from the whole world, I answered him, that the Lord God had the power of distributing his gifts as he might think fit, for "the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof," but that this was the last thought entertained by your Highness, who had ever aimed at stability, rather than at increase; your wish being to live in a Christian manner with Christians; to avoid inflicting injury on any one; to bear with patience the injuries you might be subjected to; and to delay avenging them to the utmost that human tolerance was capable of; and hereon, I expatiated at great length.

I am well aware, most serene Prince, that this Master Richard is very much the friend of your Highness, for I knew him here before he went to the Switzers, and maintained a certain friendship with him, because of his being so extremely well affected, *ut dixi*, and a very learned person, and endowed with every amiable quality. I suspect, however, that he was sent hither to acquaint me with the negotiations which he alleges have passed between the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty, in order to prevent your Highness from placing that reliance on France which is attributed to you; and although he affirms to these negotiations having taken place in his presence, it appears to me unreasonable that the most Christian King should discuss anything with the Emperor against the King of England with an English ambassador as witness! Knowing his character, I do not think *he* lies, but am of opinion that the Emperor told him this, and that he wrote thus to the court; for both the King and the Cardinal have repeatedly told me the same things, on the authority of letters received from this Master Richard. I, therefore, doubt the fact; yet I deem it my duty to notify the whole, that your Highness, who is most cautious, and has ears and eyes everywhere, may employ them how and when you shall think opportune.

We discussed the affairs of the Turk, which, he says, according to very recent letters from Rhodes, are in a perilous state, because of a fresh junction effected between the remains of the Mamelukes and the Sophy; and that Aleppo had been recovered. To this I do not give credit, as according to the last summaries from your Highness, matters did not appear to tend to such results; added to which, the news is of such importance that your Highness would have transmitted it hither and to the other Christian powers on wings. Possibly these things are invented by the

English to cloak their inactivity and their indifference to the universal ruin of Christendom.[1] * * *

I have heard by letters from my family that your Sublimity has at length deigned to grant my just demand, by appointing as my successor the Magnifico Antonio Surian, LL.D.,[2] a person, in my opinion, the most fitting possible, but I may say, "*conforma hoc Deus quod operatus est in nobis a templo sancto tuo*," it remains to despatch him; and this, I beseech your Excellency to do without delay, that I may at length enjoy the repose of my beloved country and my family.

[1] This expression is remarkable, as proving the state observed by Cardinal Wolsey.

[2] The words are so precisely those put into the mouth of Cardinal Campeggio by Shakspeare that they are worth preserving in the original:—

"In questi proximi giorni e' venuto a visitarmi *uno Messer Ricardo Paceo*."

"My Lord of York, was not one Doctor Pace
In this man's place before him?"

King Henry VIII., act ii. sc. 3.

[3] See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 155, 223, 306.

[4] "*Et li e' sta data la terza dignita del regno di quelli entrano nel secreto conseglio.* Hume (vol. iii. p. 103) writes that Pace was secretary of state in 1515; but from what Giustinian says here, it may be inferred that he did not obtain this post until the close of 1517.

[5] Sir Christopher Urswick is also recorded by Shakspeare in King Richard III.; and John Pits, in his "Lives of the Kings, Bishops, Apostolical Men, and Writers of England," mentions his alias of Bambridge, and alludes to various embassies performed by him, but omits one which was entrusted to him after the battle of Bosworth Field, when Henry VII. sent him to Venice—a fact of which he reminded the Venetian ambassador, Zacharia Contarini, at Augsburg, A.D. 1496 (May), telling him that the Signory had been the first potentate in Europe to acknowledge his sovereign, to whom it had sent a missive sealed with a silver seal, which the King preserved *ad futuram rei memoriam*. Subsequently, in November 1509, when Priest Christopher Urswick had become Archbishop of York, and was ambassador at Rome, he battled it for the Venetians with Pope Julius II., continuing their friend until his death in 1514; and it may be added, that amongst other Venetian notices of this English cardinal, unknown to Pits or his other biographers, is the following—namely, that he bequeathed 20,000

golden ducats for the building of St. Peter's Church at Rome, where his monument may be seen to this hour in the cloister of the church of St. Tommaso degli Inglesi.

[6] The ambassador does not say in what year Secretary Pace accompanied the Doge to espouse the Adriatic, but it was probably in the spring of 1517, when he will have taken a trip from Switzerland to Venice for his amusement. Subsequently, in 1523, when ambassador to the republic of Venice from Henry VIII., he embarked on board the *Bucintor* in a public capacity, and dined with the Doge, with the rest of the diplomatic body, as may be read in the diaries of Marin Sanuto.

[7] Selim I. gained his last battle against the Mamelukes at the gates of Cairo on April 13, 1517, and forthwith hung the last of the Soldans, Toumonbai, or Tourmanbey. In this present year 1518, so far from being worsted by the Sophy, he made himself master of several cities in Persia.

[8] This appointment had been made, as we learn from the diaries of Sanuto, on the previous 19th November. The concluding hint of Giustinian was not without reason, as a long time elapsed before Surian arrived in England.

London, January 24, 1518.

The right reverend Cardinal having arrived here on the 21st, I sent my Secretary on the morrow to make an appointment for me. He was most graciously received, and whilst with his right reverend lordship, the King likewise made his appearance, having come out of his way, *in transitu*, either for the purpose of visiting his lordship, or to despatch some business, and the Secretary was in like manner very well received indeed by his Majesty, who departed immediately for Windsor, where he will remain at least until Easter.

It was settled for me to go to his right reverend lordship the next day, the 23rd, which I did, and met with as kind a welcome as I could possibly have desired, his lordship making me every demonstration of affection and good will; and on his inquiring whether I had any news, I told him I had received no letters from your Highness since the communi-

cation made to him on the 24th of November, though through private letters addressed to myself and to these merchant folk, the confirmation had been heard of what I told him, that is to say that the Turkish armada had moved towards the strait; that warlike preparations were in active progress, and that the Great Turk was inclined to return to Constantinople. I mentioned also the cruelties exercised against those Mamelukes who had taken pay under Selim; and with regard to the affairs of Italy, I told him that since the arrangement made between his Holiness and the Signor Francesco Maria della Rovere, everything was quiet and tranquil. The Cardinal told me in reply, that by recent letters from his Holiness aforesaid, he was informed that the affairs of the Turk were not secure, as the remains of the vanquished Mamelukes had elected a new Soldan, and were to join the Sophy; and that for his greater safety, Sultan Selim had withdrawn into Damascus, and according to the general belief, not without some dread for his affairs; to Rhodes, indeed, he had sent ambassadors demanding peace, which he signed for two years.

He then commenced discussing the matters of his Majesty here, extolling him to the skies, saying, he was inclined to a general peace, and in like manner as he is inflamed with the desire of justice, so will he prove himself a true Christian Prince; adding, that his right reverend lordship had never watched or laboured for any result, save to establish peace between the potentates of Christendom, in order that his Majesty might have an opportunity for displaying his valour against the Infidels. I lauded the intention both of King and Cardinal in most ample terms, saying, that nothing better became a Sovereign than to keep peace with Christians so as to be ready for whatever might occur. In the next place, he informed me that he understood the King of

France was fitting out an armada in Brittany and along that coast, the object of which he did not know; though should he entertain any project against this kingdom, he would find it perfectly prepared. Without denying the fact, as it has been very generally reported here, I made answer that were this the case I considered it very certain, and besought his right reverend lordship likewise to share my belief, that nothing was being plotted against England by his most Christian Majesty, who was thoroughly well disposed towards the general peace of Christendom, and that above all he deems this most serene King his good brother; but that I fancied should any preparations have been made, that they were occasioned by certain Moorish corsairs, who infest those seas and do great damage, and also from its being known that the King of Tunis and those Princes of Barbary, are hesitating about subjecting themselves to the Turk or to others;[1] and that possibly his aforesaid most Christian Majesty had armed some ships, in order to be ready for any event. I thus endeavoured to impress him with the conviction that the most Christian King was not plotting against his Majesty here, assigning to him as a reason that even were he to entertain the worst possible will against this kingdom, he would not for his honour form such a project, at a moment when all the Christian powers ought to attend to the common safety, and not to individual passions. His lordship appeared to remain satisfied, and told me that his Holiness had forwarded him certain articles for the Christian expedition, which he promised to send me; and that he imagined your Excellency would have received them likewise. I will endeavour to obtain them, and should their contents be such as not to injure your Sublimity in case of miscarriage, I shall transmit them; otherwise, I will keep them back.[2]

After leaving his lordship, I conferred with Richard Pace, the Secretary and Royal Councillor, from whom I elicited that the Switzers had determined to remain neutral, and that the most Christian King had wanted to link himself with them by fresh clauses which they refused, meaning to be free; and, therefore, when the ambassador from his Holiness exhorted them to the Christian expedition, they made answer that first of all it would be requisite to unite the Christian powers, after which, should his Holiness take them into his pay, they would serve willingly. Hereupon, after I had turned and twisted various matters to arrive at this point, without evincing apprehension on the subject, he told me that the Switzers, with some few exceptions, were the good friends of your Sublimity, but that the danger lies in their being stirred up against you by the most Christian King, in the event of any dissension between his Majesty and your Signory. I answered him that this peril did not exist, as the friendship between your Excellency and France was well grounded, for the defence of your mutual territories in Italy; but I did not tell him of the renewal of the alliance between either party, as I think it would render your Highness odious to his Majesty here. Touching what he had said about the few Switzers who were opposed to your Excellency, I told him I knew the Cardinal of Sion had been the instigator of their enmity, he being bitterly opposed to the weal of the Signory. The secretary admitted the truth of this, but said that he could do nothing with them, nor yet with the Emperor, having lost his authority. He added his conviction that his Imperial Majesty would be content to remain at peace, now that the breeze from England, which used to fill his sails, fails him; expressions which very much rejoiced me, although I had suspected the fact previously by reason of the recall from the

Emperor's court of said D. Richard; and I also fancy that the news will prove agreeable to your Highness, who need fear nothing from his Imperial Majesty, unless the King of England supply him with means.

[1] The Barbary princes owned a sort of vassalage to the Soldans, and by this it would seem that they hesitated about transferring their allegiance to Sultan Selim.

[2] The ambassador probably suspected that this project for a crusade might contain some clause hostile to France, and was apprehensive of his letters being seized, and that the French court might suspect him of approving such merely because of his transmitting the articles to Venice.

London, January 26, 1518.

Whilst awaiting an opportunity of seeing his Majesty, I received your secretary's letters, dated the 4th and 20th ultimo, on every account agreeable, with summaries of great importance concerning Turkish affairs, which I shall first go and communicate to the right reverend Cardinal. I will then ride to where his Majesty in person may be, paying him my respects on my own account, as well as in the name of your Highness, and acquainting him with all the news notified to me. That paragraph, however, most serene Prince, which alludes to the peace between the Sultan Selim and your Highness having been renewed and sworn to,[1] I shall omit, because these lords are hugely suspicious, and detest all who maintain peace and friendship with infidels, upbraiding such as lukewarm friends to Christendom; so that in any negotiation for forming a league, should your Sublimity hesitate to declare yourself, on account of the peril to which your interests would thus be exposed, this side would complain that your Excellency

had an understanding with the Turk against Christians, so I shall be silent on that score. The court here is not yet aware that your Highness has despatched ambassadors, nor have I ever dropped the slightest hint to this effect; but, as I perceive that when communicating the other paragraphs, it will necessarily behove me to allude to said ambassadors, both to the one who remained at Damascus, and to the other who was sent to Constantinople, and also, as the fact cannot any longer remain secret, I shall have no hesitation in announcing it; and with the result of this communication my letters shall acquaint your Highness.

[1] In the memoirs of the Ottoman monarchs, by Giovanni Sagredo, mention is made of peace having been ratified between Venice and Sultan Selim in the year 1513, but nothing is said in that work of any ulterior treaty in 1517-18, which will of course have been rendered necessary for the security of the Venetian factories at Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Beyrout, Joppa, and elsewhere in those dominions, which passed from the Soldans to the Sultans in the year 1517. The ambassadors despatched to Sultan Selim on this occasion were Luigi Mocenigo and Bartholomeo Contarini. See Paruta, par I. book iii. p. 154.

London, February 2, 1518.

On the 29th, I went to the right reverend Cardinal, and imparted to him the summaries, with such modifications, as written by me; whereupon, after evincing some mental disquietude at the Turkish preparations, which he was aware boded wo to Christendom, he said, "By the grace of God, I have so arranged the affairs of this kingdom that his Majesty will act as a right Christian Prince, and prove his valour against the Turk by deeds, and not by words," to which end the Cardinal professes exclusively to stimulate him. He then inquired of me whether I had

heard anything from France about the military and naval preparations of that King. I told him I had not heard of any preparation soever, although I had received letters from the magnifico, your Excellency's ambassador resident in France, who gives me much intelligence, nor did I doubt but that he would have written this likewise, had it been the case. His lordship rejoined, that there were certain ships cruising about, and another armada was understood to be fitting out here in Brittainy; the King of France having moreover engaged a great number of Lansquenets, nor was it credible that he should have done so, save against England, as such preparations could not be supposed a demonstration against the Turks, for whom other forces would be required than these; neither might it be said that anything was meditated against Barbary, because in that case the armaments would be effected in Provence, rather than in these seas; and so great a number of Lansquenets would not be necessary. In fine, his assertions tended to prove that these hostile movements were destined against the English, who were therefore putting all their fortresses in order, marshalling their troops, and arming their ships, for the defence of their country, and in order to attack those who might plot anything against it. I inquired of his right reverend lordship whether he knew for certain of these preparations; as if he did, that brought the matter to a point, and they might be attributed to the disputes with the Duke of Savoy,[1] who indeed seems not very well satisfied with his most Christian Majesty, and that should an armada be fitting out in these seas, it would be either for the affairs of Barbary, or for those of Savoy, whose territory borders on Provence, but that, to fit out the armada there, would be giving notice to the enemy. If indeed his right reverend lordship was not certain of the fact, I did not believe it, as I doubted not

but that I should have learned it through the ambassador, who, I assured him, had made no mention soever to me hereof, and that I would subject myself to any punishment soever, should his most Christian Majesty devise aught against this kingdom, as I knew he was averse to war with Christians, and desired rather to rivet every possible bond of union with his Majesty, than to sever that which now exists. His right reverend lordship seemed to remain very well satisfied with my assurance, and said, "Should it be thus as you believe, Domine Orator, write to the Magnifico, your ambassador, resident with the King of France, to contrive that he may declare against us, if such be his intention, like a magnanimous King, and tell us the reason; for it would not be for the honour of a Sovereign who thinks so highly of himself, to embark in such an enterprise furtively and by stealth.[2] On the contrary, should it not be so, let him give us ample promise and assurance to this effect, so that we may be as convinced of his good will, as his Majesty is of ours; for our King told the Bishop of Paris when here, that he did not choose to have war with any Christian power, nor would he molest any one, but meant to attend to what concerned the interests of Christendom, and should this be unnecessary, that he intended to live in quiet and tranquillity." I promised him to perform this office warmly and speedily, being aware that such was the wish of his lordship, who told me to notify all this to your Highness; to inform you also, should his most Christian Majesty devise anything against this realm, he would send his ambassadors to the pontiff and to the Emperor, also to your Highness as the ally of England, with an intimation that all should rise and bestir themselves against the mover of such a project in these times, which is nothing more or less than inviting the Turk to injure Christen-

dom, adding, "Not that we are afraid of the King of France, but in our own justification!" I told him I was very certain that nothing of this sort would be requisite, but that the words of his lordship should be repeated by me to your Sublimity, who, I doubted not, would endeavour to mediate as efficiently as possible; and with this I took leave, being invited to dine with his right reverend lordship on Sunday, the last day of the month.

After dinner on that occasion, we drew aside together with the illustrious the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Treasurer, and his lordship commenced discussing this same topic, in the same terms, I answering precisely in like form, which to avoid being tedious I will not repeat, and I then took leave, as his right reverend lordship was going to hold a council about certain matters with those lords.

The present negotiation has appeared to me of some moment, and I have, therefore, written these presents, in order to notify it to your Sublimity, and to the magnifico the ambassador Giustinian,[2] and forward them by express: your Excellency will do and ordain as you may deem expedient.

P. S.—I have heard from a trustworthy person, that warlike preparations are being made here likewise; and it is said that certain great personages have crossed the channel, either to Calais or to Tournai, to guard against these movements, I believe, or to ascertain the truth.

[1] Charles III., Duke of Savoy, detached himself from France in the year 1516, when he induced Leo X. to erect Chamberi and Bourg-en-Bresse into bishoprics, to the prejudice of the sees of Lyons, Grenoble, and Mâçon; so Francis I. opposed the bulls of erection, and compelled the Pope to revoke them.

[2] Possibly all that follows may indicate a device of Wolsey to reconcile the nation to the surrender of Tournai; England was averse to giving

more money, and consequently wished for peace, and Wolsey may be suspected of having told the Bishop of Paris and his colleague to *desire* Francis I. to make these hostile demonstrations—a supposition which is confirmed by his *talking* so much about them to the Venetian ambassador.

[3] Antonio Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador in Paris.

London, February 17, 1518.

I have been several times to the right reverend Cardinal to learn whether his opinion inclines to peace or war, and what he knows about these French movements, without, however, appearing inquisitive in the matter. All I have been able to elicit is that a great number of Lansquenets have been engaged in France, where all along the coast orders have been given to detain the vessels, and keep them at the King's disposal: his right reverend lordship, however, appears not to know the drift of these measures, though he says, what is in fact generally reported about them, that they are occasioned by the Duke of Albany's intended return to Scotland, the faction opposed to him having risen, and cut to pieces some of his adherents; and because his most Christian Majesty is apprehensive that the Duke may be exposed to peril on the voyage from English ships and soldiery, and, moreover, not be received in Scotland, where his opponents have now the upper hand. The Cardinal likewise says, as heard all over London, that this stir is being made for the purpose of invading Flanders and the dominions of the Catholic King, perceiving that he has not made preparation for any succour hence, and that his Majesty here is not in readiness to defend that territory; so with this opportunity the King of France means to occupy Flanders and other Spanish dependencies. In consequence of these suspicions, his lordship said he has already made

offensive and defensive preparations both by sea and land. To these charges against France I was unable to make any definitive reply, knowing nothing hereon, but am in hourly expectation of letters from the most noble your ambassador in that kingdom, which will, I trust, supply me with some information.

On my mentioning the wines of Candia, his right reverend lordship gave me an appointment for to-morrow; and as I am aware that the intercession of those in power and authority is of great avail in obtaining grants, I contrived that the Magnifico Dom. Richard Pace, chief secretary and councillor, should come to me, and I stated the whole case to him; on hearing which, he assured me positively that I was very much in the right, and that it was impossible not to comply with my demand, *but*, that although the Council exercised great authority, yet did everything depend on the sole will of the right reverend Cardinal, and that I must ply him; promising to afford me all possible favour.

I was told to-day, by a person in authority, that these lords entertain no doubt soever but that his most Christian Majesty is arming himself either against Flanders or Scotland; and all along the coast, in the territory of the Catholic King in those parts, ships of every sort have been seized. His Majesty here has also ordered vessels to be in readiness, besides hiring a number of others, amounting, as I was told, to eighty sail, which, however, I do not credit. This fleet was mustered, it is said, by sending messengers to all the English ports, and chartering every vessel in them, binding the owners to tell no one of their embargo. The militia has also been desired to hold itself in readiness; so that should his Majesty perceive the affairs of France to proceed farther, he will be ready either for attack or defence. My own opinion, being here on the spot, is, that some provision indeed

has been made, but not to the extent stated, for such great preparations could never have been effected so silently, as not to be manifest, not only to me, who make such research as in my power, but to every one; nor is there any doubt but that as yet no money has been disbursed.

Should letters arrive here from the most noble your ambassador in France, for communication to his Majesty, purporting that England has nothing to fear from that quarter, I think the announcement would prove extremely agreeable to these lords, as it would save them an outlay of money, and obtain no common favour for your Sublimity, who will have given such orders in this matter as deemed expedient for your interests.

London, February 28, 1518.

I received your Highness's letters of the 23rd ultimo, with the summaries of the Turkish affairs, together with others from the most noble Giustinian, your ambassador at the French court, which arrived most opportunely, since they furnished me with matter for going to his Majesty at Windsor. In the aforesaid is set forth the good will of the most Christian King, and his wish for peace with all the Princes of Christendom; his Majesty not meaning to create any disturbance unless provoked. This his magnificence authorized me to communicate in the most solemn terms to his Majesty here, so that every one might be convinced thereupon. The intelligence, as I anticipated, proved as opportune and agreeable as words can express, both to the King and Cardinal and to the other lords at the Court, where I was received on the 23rd most becomingly, both by

his Majesty aforesaid and by the right reverend Cardinal, to whom I had previously imparted my news. On my offering to commence with the Turkish matters, his right reverend lordship who had already heard part of the tidings from France, through the Bishop of Durham (as contrived by me to prepare for myself a favourable audience), chose me to begin with the French news, as I did, and communicated to him in succession, all that was fit to be repeated, as written to me by the aforesaid Magnifico Giustinian; and finally, the Turkish summaries, forwarded to me by your Highness. His lordship appeared much gratified, saying, "I am glad the King of France does not purpose making any stir against this kingdom, nor against Flanders, or Scotland, so that my King may not be compelled to wage fresh war, as it his wish to live peaceably and tranquilly with all Christians, and to accumulate as much treasure as possible, that he may expend it against the infidels, as is the duty of every Christian potentate, and not be compelled on this account to lay fresh burdens and taxes on his people, who do not bear them easily. We shall see if he is of this mind," he added, "by the reply he may make to what you wrote in execution of my order to your ambassador resident with him, and also to our own agent who was sent thither on this account; for should his Majesty perceive that the aforesaid King of France proceed sincerely, without guile, not doing one thing and feigning another, he would turn all his thoughts, as I have said, to the accumulation of funds for the Christian expedition. If on the other hand, the French King continue, as he has done hitherto, employing deceit, holding his Majesty in small account, and treating him contemptuously, denying justice to our subjects, who have suffered insupportable injuries at the hands of the French, and not received any satisfaction soever (so that our ambassadors who were sent

to receive compensation for these damages, have returned *re infectâ*, whereas full satisfaction has been given for the damages incurred by their subjects); all these things considered, we cannot do less than vindicate the honour of England, and when once the armies are assembled, it will be requisite to proceed, well nigh on compulsion, the people here being exasperated at the deep wrongs received from France." I repeated to his lordship that there was no doubt of the intention of his most Christian Majesty, nor of any of his proceedings. * * * With regard to compensation not having been afforded to the English sufferers, that, I said, might proceed from many causes, either from their claims not being such as they represent, or that although his most Christian Majesty mean justice to be done, his ministers do not act in conformity with his will, as often happens in such cases. I thus endeavoured to justify the proceedings of the most Christian King without offending this side, much being said hereon by each of us, which I omit for the avoidance of prolixity. His right reverend lordship then put his arm in mine, and took me to the King, who received me graciously, and having drawn aside, I communicated the whole to him. On the Turkish affairs his Majesty made no comment; to those of France, indeed, on my telling him of the good disposition of his most Christian Majesty, who did not mean to attack any one, unless provoked by manifold injuries, he began to laugh, appearing to believe that all he did and said, was based on deceit, saying, "If he bore me good will, he would not weigh me so lightly as he does by wronging my subjects, and not doing them that justice which I did by his: let him write and declare to me his good will, and act like a true King; and if he bears me any rancour let him say so openly, and I will do the like: but I perceive that although his ambassadors who came here used language

as bland and agreeable as could be desired, saying, that they were not ashamed to demand peace in their King's name, and to desire union and a good understanding with me, yet on their return, justice was not administered to my subjects, who, on the contrary, when they presented themselves for compensation, received threats of being murdered, and thus have they returned dissatisfied; so the King of France must prove by deeds what he utters by word of mouth. I am not going to wage war upon him," he continued, "should I see that he chooses to hold me in account, but if not, I am able to make myself respected; to speak ingenuously, I should be adverse to war, but if he chooses it, I do not care, as by the grace of God, I am well prepared both for defence and for attack. I would fain have cause to distinguish myself against the infidels, but not by words and boasting, and by levying moneys for crusades, and doing nothing.[1]" To this I replied in conformity with what I told the right reverend Cardinal, adding that unless the ambassador of your Highness resident in France had known the intention of the King he would not have written so positively, as he was a very grave and most prudent man, and well aware of the proceedings of his Majesty. To this the King rejoined that the ambassador wrote to the best of his knowledge, but merely knew what his most Christian Majesty chose him to know; and that it was not in his power to write that which the King dissembles, and hereon much more was said, and at greater length than here written by me.

On my mentioning to him the marriage of the Duke of Urbino to the sister-in-law of the Duke of Albany, as concluded and ratified, and that the bridegroom was coming to France in Lent, and that the marriage was to be consummated after Easter, his Majesty said it was not true,[2] and

that he had very recent letters to the contrary: he also ridiculed the agreement of France with the Switzers, saying, that much money would have been promised, but that it would never be disbursed. The result of all these colloquies, most serene Prince, is, that these lords are very glad that the most Christian King cherishes no hostile intentions either against Flanders or themselves. Their sole complaint seems to be, that his most Christian Majesty has not done justice to their subjects, whereby they consider themselves scorned and slighted immeasurably.

After this conversation, his Majesty caused the Princess his daughter, who is two years old,[3] to be brought into the apartment where we were, whereupon the right reverend Cardinal and I, and all the other lords, kissed her hand, *pro more*, the greatest marks of honour being paid her universally, more than to the Queen herself. The moment she cast her eyes on the Reverend D. Dionisius Memo, who was there at a little distance, she commenced calling out in English "*Priest!*" and he was obliged to go and play for her; after which, the King, with the Princess in his arms, came to me and said, "*Per Deum, iste est honestissimus vir et unus carissimus, nullus unquam servivit mihi fidelius et melius illo, scribaris Domino vestro quod habeat ipsum commendatum.*" I thanked the King, and told him he would be recommended to your Signory in proportion to the satisfaction which you might know his Majesty received from him, and that I therefore on my part recommended him to his Majesty. This say I, most serene Prince, that I perceive him to be in such favour with the King, that for the future he will prove an excellent instrument, in matters appertaining to your Highness.

I have also to inform your Sublimity that two ambassadors have been despatched hence to the Catholic King, namely,

the Archbishop of Armagh, which is an Irish see,[4] and my Lord Berners, an earl[5] of prudence and repute. I have had a conference with the right reverend Cardinal about the wines. To render him well disposed, I extolled his justice beyond measure, and at length told him that I wanted neither favour nor anything undue, but demanded justice, which I could not bring myself to believe would be denied me by so upright a judge. As the equity of my suit rendered me bold in making it, I said it appeared to me that its refusal could only proceed from timidity; and that it was high time for it to be conceded, as my successor had been already despatched to take my place, and that it would be neither worthy of the justice of this realm, nor in accordance with the favour which his lordship declared I enjoyed with the King and himself, to let me return with my errand unaccomplished. Upon this, he told me positively that he meant the matter to be settled, and said he would appoint me two commissioners, namely, the Magnifico Dom. Richard Pace, and Dom. Thomas More,[6] the most sage and virtuous, and the most linked with me in friendship of any in this kingdom. Were he to keep this promise, I should deem the matter well settled in favour of your Highness, but I suspect that this resolve will be impeded, both because the first named is known to be most devoted to your Highness, and the second, to justice; and both one and the other are very friendly indeed to myself personally.

Earnest inquiries have been made of me both by the right reverend Cardinal, and by many other lords, as to when the galleys will arrive, to which I made answer that as the weather is in their favour, I thought they would soon be here, which indeed is the general opinion; I understand that immediately on receiving news of their arrival, it is the intention of his Majesty to go on board them; so I have deemed

it expedient to write a letter to the magnifico their commodore,[1] which I have sent to Hampton, with directions that on hearing of the approach of the galleys it be sent off to him, and I thereby acquainted him with the King's intention, so as to give him time to put them in order, and that his Majesty may find them not merely galleys by name, but gallant in their trim, as I am very certain will be the case.

[1] In date of November 7, 1517, the ambassador Minio writes from Rome that M. de l'Escu was there on behalf of Francis I., amusing himself by masking and gambling, being, moreover, rather unlucky at play; but in the midst of his diversions, besides arranging the marriage of Madelaine de la Tour to the Pope's nephew, Lorenzino de Medici, he obtained a bull from his holiness authorizing the king to levy a tenth on the French clergy, the product of which King Francis *promised* to expend against the Turks, and it is to this fact that Henry VIII. is here alluding. M. de l'Escu left Rome in the middle of November 1517, the Pope having given him a diamond estimated at 1,500 ducats, besides 2,000 golden ducats in cash, and a couple of horses; and Minio says that he departed "very well satisfied" with Leo X.

[2] Henry VIII. was mistaken; the marriage contract had been signed at Rome by Leo X. on January 16, 1518, and on the morrow his holiness forwarded the wedding ring to his nuncio in France for delivery to the bride—details which exist in the despatches of Marco Minio; who also, in date of January 4, 1518, says that the Spanish ambassadors had been to the Pope, telling him that the daughter of the deceased Gonsalvo de Cordova, the great captain, was too *old* for his nephew, being in her thirty-sixth year; added to which, King Charles meant to share the property of the great captain with her, but they offered another Spanish bride in her stead, with a reasonable dower, which was however declined, and the "pulling of caps" between France and Spain ended by Lorenzino's taking a French bride, by whom he became the father of Catharine de Medici.

[3] The birth of Mary Tudor has been recorded by Giustinian at vol. i. p. 181, and her taste for music (as displayed by her fondness for the Venetian organist, Memo, in her infancy) is alluded to in after life by another Venetian—namely, Giovanni Michiel, who was ambassador at her court from the year 1553 until 1557; and in his report of England, made to the senate on 13th May 1557, when describing the Queen, he says:—

"Besides feminine accomplishments, such as needle-work and every sort of embroidery, she is a very great proficient in music, playing especially on the harpsichord and lute so excellently, that when she attended

to this (which she does now but little) she surprised good performers, both by the rapidity of her execution and method of playing." (See the Reports published at Florence, vol. iv. p. 323). *Priest* Memo was probably her first music master, and the account of her calling him in the original runs thus:—". . . qual subito dato ochio al Rdo. D. Dionisio Memo che era li pocho discosto comenzo a dir in Anglese *priest*, et fu necessario che l'andasse a sonar."

[4] In the works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, ed. 1739, vol. i. p. 89, where mention is made of the Archbishops of Armagh, the individual here alluded to by Giustinian is mentioned thus:—

"John Kite, succeeded, 1513; resigned, 1521."

John Kite was born in the city of London, and was for a time ambassador from King Henry to Spain—a man in great esteem for his hospitality. He was, by the provision of Pope Leo X., advanced to the see of Armagh before the close of the year 1513, and (according to the mode of speaking) got restitution of the temporalities on 20th May 1514. He went to England, at the King's special command, in the year 1516, and had a writ of protection for himself and his see during his absence.

John Kite lived to the 19th June 1537, on which day he died, at a very advanced age, at Stepney, near London, and was buryed there almost in the middle of the chancell, inclining to the north, under a marble monument, on which is engraved an English epitaph in hobling rhime, unworthy of so learned an age. It is extant in Weever's "Funeral Monuments," and runs thus:—

"Undyr this ston closyde and marmorate
Lyeth *John Kitte* Londoner natyffe.
Encreasyng in vertues rose to high estate.
In the fourth *Edward's* chappell by his young lyffe,
Sith whych the sevinth *Henrye's* servyce primatyffe
Proceding stil in vertuous efficace
To be in favour with this our King's grase.
With witt endewyd chosen to be legate
Sent into *Spayne*, where he ryght joyfully
Combyned both prynces, in pease most amate:
In *Grece* archbyshop elected worthely;
And last of Carlyel rulyng pastorally
Kepyng nobyl houshold wyth grete hospitality:
On thowsand fyve hundryd thirty and sevyn,
Invyterate wyth pastoral carys, consumyd with age,
The nintenth of *Jun* reckonyd ful evyn,
Passyd to hevyn from worldly pylgramage:
Of whos soul good pepul of cherite
Prey, as ye wold be preyd for; for thus must ye lie.
Jesu, mercy! Lady, help!"

By his will, dated 18th June 1537, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury three days after (wherein he styles himself Arch-

bishop of Thebes and Commendatory Perpetual of Carlisle), he bequeaths his body to be buried by that of his father in St. Margaret's church, Westminster; yet his executors or friends did not think fit to be at the trouble of complying with his request, but buried him where he died. His promotions to Thebes and Carlisle came so quick upon him, that the fees of the bulls for his translations and the retention of other benefices amounted to the sum of 1,790 ducats; but we are told that 275 ducats of these fees were remitted to him for the sake of Cardinal Wolsey, whose creature he was.

[5] John Bourchier, Lord Berners, the first English translator of Froissart, was a baron, and not an earl, and died 3rd March A.D. 1532, being then Lieutenant of Calais. Copies of some of the letters written by Lord Berners on this mission exist in the Harleian collection. In one, dated Saragossa, 12th May 1518, he mentions that it was reported in the Spanish court that King Francis I. reputed himself "firme and faste of diverse nobles in Inglande;" "that the Lord Shevers [de Chièvres] had stopped the King of Spaine's grant of a pension to Cardinal Wolsey as it came to be signed and sealed, and advises that the King may send some present to said Lord Shevers and to the Chancellor of Burgundy." Then, in June and September, the translator of Froissart being yet at Saragossa, "beseeches the King's grace to send him some of his *hallowed cramp-rings*, which be very sore desyred of them;" and finally, in date of Saragossa, 8th October, Lord Berners mentions the arrival there of an embassy from Rhodes, consisting of a "lorde of Fraunce and Sir Thomas Shefelde, for the reforming of their religion in those parts." In the Harleian catalogue, no mention is made of his colleague, the Archbishop of Armagh.

[6] The intimacy between Sebastian Giustinian and Sir Thomas More has been already alluded to in the letter written by the ambassador to Erasmus, in date of London, June 29th, 1517.

[7] Namely, Andrea Priuli. See *ante*, p. 45.

London, March 10, 1518.

I went lately to visit the reverend Spanish ambassador, who never chose to receive me until now, when he says all those suspicions and causes have vanished, on account of which he had not hitherto held communication with me. After the usual compliments, he told me that the ambassador the magnifico Messer Francesco Cornaro,[1] enjoyed great

authority with his Catholic King, who liked and favoured him vastly, and he added, in course of conversation, that his Catholic Highness was well disposed towards your Sublimity, and had been the cause of your reconciliation to the Emperor; and that although at this present the negotiation now in course for a fresh peace or compromise[2] was in the hands of the most Christian King, yet did his Catholic Highness not fail using his best endeavours. He assured me that an excellent understanding prevailed between France and Spain, and a disposition to persevere therein, and that although heretofore England had exerted herself to the contrary, yet would his Catholic Highness never assent to any act of hostility. The Emperor, he said, was united with the most Christian King, and the present negotiations for the agreement between his Imperial Majesty and your Excellency were brought to such a pass, that the settlement depends on your Highness, that is to say on your acceptance of the terms demanded by the Emperor, with which he says he is not acquainted, although it has been notified to him that they are very fair. * * *

[1] The Venetian ambassador in Spain, and who accompanied Charles V. to England in the month of May 1520, and was present at the entertainments given at Canterbury on that occasion.

[2] The truce made between the Venetians and the Emperor was drawing to a close. See Paruta, p. 157.

London, March 15, 1518.

To-day, for the more complete performance of my duty, I rode to his Majesty, who is at Richmond in some trouble, as three of his pages and another attendant have died of plague.

Being introduced to the King, he received me very graciously, and I conferred with him for upwards of an hour and a half. I stated to him in the first place the contents of the letters written by the most noble the ambassador Giustinian,[1] being aware that he had this matter most at heart, and finally the summaries concerning the Turkish matters, to which last his Majesty made answer, that for this year there was no reason to fear that the Turk would undertake anything against Christendom, and that he had received intelligence to this effect from Rhodes. I rejoined that this was very much to be desired by all the Christian powers, and especially by your Highness, who was the most subject to the peril, but that appearances and demonstrations threatened the contrary, the speed with which the armada was being fitted out, the supplies of biscuit being baked for its consumption, and the order given to levy 40,000 Christians alone to man it with, indicating rather that the expedition would be undertaken quickly and against Christians.

To this the King made answer, laughing, that these advices had been given to your Excellency by persons who chose to feign fear of Turkish aggression, in order to play their own game, and that your Excellency was so linked with the Turk, that you had nothing to fear. To this I replied that your Highness had signed a peace with the reigning Sultan Selim, as with his father Sultan Bajazet, not from free will, but of necessity, as no potentate in Christendom was more exposed to peril from the Turks than your Highness; and that although ambassadors had been sent,[2] the mission was induced by the formidable power of the Sultan, and because your Excellency perceived yourself to be unprovided, and without succour from any one, in such wise that what you were unable to prevent by main force, it behoved you avert by doing honour to the Sultan and soothing him, and

that no one was interested in this matter.[3] Upon this the King said,

"Write to your Signory to be more apprehensive of a certain other person, than of the great Turk; of one who devises worse things against Christendom than Sultan Selim," meaning the most Christian King, and going on to say, "Do you not perceive what feints these are on the part of the King of France, who denies having engaged Lansquenets, as appears by the letters of your ambassador, and yet I know that he has given them two crowns per man, as earnest money for their services in the course of April, meaning to use them at his pleasure. How is it possible for any one to trust him on witnessing such deceit?"

To this, I said that your Excellency's ambassador resident in France wrote *ex relatione* of his most Christian Majesty, but that he would not have made a statement of this kind, had he been acquainted with the engagement of these troops, and that I considered it very difficult for so considerable a levy to have been made without the knowledge of an ambassador so sage and diligent as the Magnifico Giustinian; but that there are those who never cease exciting either sovereign, in order to foment discord. Upon this, he drew me nearer to him, and also took my secretary by the hand, a gest which he repeated several times in the course of these colloquies, saying,

"Shall I give you manifest proof of the deceit of this King of France? He tells everybody that he means to march against the Turks, and by way of Italy. We are aware that King Louis constantly waged great war both against you and me and others, and expended vast treasure: subsequently, this present King accomplished the Milan expedition at great cost, draining himself and his whole kingdom of its money, so that any one endowed with reason, may be convinced that against the Turks he neither

can or will undertake any expedition, which is of such a nature as to require other forces than those of the King of France single-handed; and would that the resources of all other potentates united were equal thereto! This King, however, says he means to go against the Turks, without having any understanding either with the Emperor, or with Spain, or with me; but that you may know what his project is, I tell and declare to you that he will raise an army and march into Italy, announcing his intention of attacking the great Turk, and he will go in force; and on reaching Italy, he will say that the expedition ought not to be undertaken by him without the will and concurrence of the other powers. The forces, then, which he says he is marshalling against the Turks, will act against Christians and subjugate Italy, whereupon the Pope, and yourselves, and all the others, will be compelled to assent to what you cannot resist; and think whether it is reasonable to suppose that he intends marching against the Turks, when I, of whom he has always entertained suspicion, remain in front of his kingdom?"

To this I replied that this was a most ingenious and sage discourse, presupposing the basis placed by his Majesty, namely, that the King of France has ever said that he would go single-handed against the infidel, which is not what the ambassador asserts in his letter to me; wherein he mentions that his most Christian Majesty seeks a general union of Christians, in order that he may undertake this expedition together with the other powers; and that should he hold different language with others, I was much surprised at his expressing himself as aforesaid to the ambassador of your Sublimity. These things, most serene Prince, were not said in altercation, nor when replying to the opinions of his Majesty, did I answer so as to contradict him, lest he should take my rejoinder amiss, but I expressed

myself doubtingly so that he himself might judge the reply to be made him.

His Majesty again said, "Shall I prove to you that this King acts solely with dissimulation? I know for certain that," to use his Majesty's own words, "he wishes me worse than he does the devil himself, yet you see what kind of friendly language he employs towards me, in order that I may trust to such deceit; but let him not persuade himself that I shall do so to the extent of allowing him to find me unprepared. I prefer peace, and am anxious that it should prevail amongst Christians, but I am so prepared, that should the King of France intend to attack me, he will find himself deceived," and he used this expression, *incidet in foveam quam fecit*, he will fall into the pit which he has dug.

I besought his Majesty that in like manner as he was most gracious and excellently disposed towards all, so should he believe that others were similarly inclined towards him; especially as his chief object was to be loved, and not to be hated; and that I was certain that had our ambassador entertained the slightest suspicion that the intentions of the King of France were at variance with his words, he would have written to me in such form, especially as he reminded me that I was to communicate this to his Majesty, but that possibly there were many who sought to keep the two crowns at enmity, as for instance, the claimants for damages, and other similar persons who have an interest therein. His Majesty, I added, would know in time, that what the Venetian ambassador had told him was true, and uttered sincerely, in accordance with the desire of your Excellency, upon which he said,

"Let me ask you this one question. If the King of France acts sincerely by us, why does he not have justice administered to our subjects? since for every single ducat's worth of damage suffered by his, mine have lost a hundred, and

yet he does not choose to make any award. Then, again, who could put up with his choosing to send the Duke of Albany into Scotland, where my nephew is King, and the title of the kingdom is mine, for I style myself King of England and of Scotland.[4] The King of France, however, sends this Duke into Scotland, where he will perhaps put the King to death, in like manner as his brother died, which I never intend to suffer; nor will I tolerate his presence there; and should he send him, I shall hold said King my enemy; and from this your ambassador can comprehend whether the King of France acts by me deceitfully, for true friendship forbids one friend to do that which may displease his fellow. I am King of this island, and am perfectly satisfied; and yet it seems to me that I do not do my duty thoroughly, nor govern my subjects well; and if I could have greater dominion, nay, upon oath, if I could be lord of the world, I would not, as I know that I could not do my duty, and that for my omissions God would judge me; whereas this King is a greater Lord than I am; he has a larger kingdom, and more territory, and yet he is not content, but chooses to meddle in matters which appertain to me, such as Scotland, but this he will never accomplish, for I have more money than he has, and shall have more troops whenever I please."

I did not think fit to answer in detail, though I might have alleged two arguments, namely, the very ancient alliance existing between France and Scotland, and the right of the Duke of Albany, as heir presumptive to the Crown; but I was aware that such a rejoinder would have stung him to the quick, so I avoided it, and turned the conversation. I came to the conclusion, that what I had said and answered was not from wishing to take the part of France against the opinion of his Majesty, since both one and the other were

the confederates of your most illustrious Signory, and that where the links were equal, there ought to be parity of affection, though I myself individually, from my knowledge of the character, sincerity, wisdom, and other rare endowments of his Majesty, had become incomparably more partial to him than to the King of France; both private and public sentiments drawing me to the one, whilst to the other I only owed the latter; but that his Majesty might be convinced that your most illustrious Signory acts by either crown with such equal love as becomes the equality of the ties which bind the State to England and to France, and that I performed this office because it had been enjoined me when I was sent hither as ambassador, to endeavour, above all, to keep these two crowns well united. To this the King made answer, that he was well aware of the good office performed by me, and had reason to be much pleased with it; and being aware of this, spoke freely with me, more so than he would have done with others, and that I was, therefore, not to write all these colloquies to the ambassador in France, but to say he had replied, expressing belief that his most Christian Majesty was acting with dissimulation, and not with that sincerity which he himself employed. I, most serene Prince, shall, however, write the whole to the most noble the ambassador aforesaid, knowing him to be of so great prudence and wisdom, that he will consign to silence that which is to silence suited, and state opportunely what is fit for communication.

The inference I draw from all this is, that his Majesty here is not inclined to wage war, and would be glad not to be attacked by the most Christian King; and all these complaints are with a view to prevent France from sending the Duke of Albany into Scotland, though should he be sent, I do not imagine that this side will make any stir on that

account. Moreover, although his Majesty and the right reverend Cardinal say they are prepared, and neither care for, nor dread any movements which may be made by France, yet are no signs visible whereby to conjecture hostilities. Should anything else take place, I shall give most speedy advice to your Sublimity.

[1] The letters here meant were from the Venetian ambassador at the French court, and they contained the most explicit assurances of the sincerity of King Francis, and his desire to be on friendly terms with the King of England. This appears from a previous despatch, which we have omitted.

[2] Namely, Luigi Mocenigo and Bartolomeo Contarini. See *ante*, p. 151.

[3] "Senza *interesse* de alcuno:" alluding to the assertion made by the King that the news had been circulated from *interested motives*.

[4] Et el titolo del Regno e' mio che me chiamo Re d'Anglia et di Scocia.

London, March 29, 1518.

A few days ago, there arrived here the English herald who had been sent to France, together with the herald from his most Christian Majesty,[1] addressed to the King here, and it seems that he has confirmed all that was written to me by the most noble the ambassador Giustinian, and which I communicated to this most serene King and to the right reverend Cardinal, with this in addition, that the most Christian Queen had brought forth a son. I was not able to speak with the herald, owing to his sudden departure, although I did my utmost to this effect, but as an English gentleman had been appointed who accompanied him constantly, I fancy, unlike his predecessors, he had no wish to see me, but I have heard his errand both from the right reverend Cardinal and from the Bishop of Durham. Subsequently, I went to visit the reverend Spanish ambassador,

with whom I have had much conversation about the friendly disposition of his Catholic Majesty towards the Christian King, and your most illustrious Signory; and about there being some negotiation on foot for an interview between their two Majesties, with a view to arranging the Christian expedition. He told me that his Catholic Majesty aforesaid had already ten heavy ships, and 16,000 infantry, and, moreover, in the kingdom of Naples and in Sicily, two fine brigades of men-at-arms. His lordship came to the conclusion that a general peace would, at any rate, take place, to which he thought his Majesty here was inclined.

I proceeded afterwards to the right reverend Cardinal, and whilst awaiting a summons, the Spanish ambassador aforesaid made his appearance, and we were both called by his lordship; an unusual fashion, it never having happened to me since my sojourn in this country to have audience in the company of other ambassadors. His lordship made mention of the Cardinal legates, appointed to the four sovereigns, as well known to your Sublimity,[2] and speaking on this subject, he said it was requisite to unite these princes together, and to inspire them with mutual confidence, and prevent their plotting against each other. "You perceive," said he, "Domini oratores, that confidence does not exist between any of these monarchs, each one feeling insecure on account of the continual machinations of his neighbours, for the Catholic King dreads lest the King of France seize upon Naples and Sicily: our King, again, suspects him of an intention to invade England, seeing that he harbours one of our rebellious subjects, keeping him about his person,[3] besides favouring the Duke of Albany, and stirring up Scotland. On the other hand, France places no trust in us; and thus it is impossible to arrange a Christian expedition unless the minds of the Princes of Christendom be tranquillized, and

the causes of suspicion removed;" adding much other scandalous language (*parole scandalose*), to which I answered not a single word, as I fancied that his lordship had caused the Spaniard and myself to be introduced together, in order that the one might bear witness to the words of the other.

The Spaniard, however, replied that necessity would cause these princes to unite, and that the circumstances were urgent; whereupon the Cardinal rejoined, "Provision cannot now be made in time, for the Turk has prepared a most powerful armada, and is on the point of putting to sea, whereas the Christians are not yet agreed, nor is it possible for them to be so for a year to come." Much was said to this effect by each of them, I remaining silent the whole time, not having any commission from your Highness to speak about this Christian expedition, but his right reverend lordship turned towards me, saying, "You are in a very perilous position, but guard yourselves more against the Christian Turk than the real Turk," meaning an allusion to the most Christian King.

I made believe to have merely heard about the Turk, and feigned ignorance of his intending to designate the King of France, as had I answered to the point, it would have appeared an admission on my part that the most Christian King was the Christian Turk; nor was it advisable to resent this, even had I wished it, especially in the presence of the Spanish ambassador, seeing that the Cardinal was very warm upon this matter, and that I should have excited him yet more, so I thought fit to secede; but, in my opinion, the whole of this discourse was made for the sake of rendering the French King suspected by all parties, both from the words uttered by the Cardinal concerning the kingdom of Naples, and also because, turning a second time towards me, he said, "I am well aware, Domine Orator, that you know Italy and your State to be in greater

danger from others than from the Turk, and am of opinion that you pass many a sleepless night on this account!" With this, his right reverend lordship departed, and we accompanied him to hear a sermon.

I perceive, most serene Prince, that all these proceedings only conceal an indisposition to act against the Turk, and they feel it a great reproach to themselves that the most Christian King and the other princes should undertake the expedition; so they endeavour by all means to foment suspicion and prevent the enterprise. I am the more convinced of this, as both on the present and on a former occasion, when I was at Windsor, the Cardinal said the Emperor was endeavouring to obtain money from the Christian powers, and wanted all the funds destined for this undertaking to pass through his hands, so that he may expend them otherwise; with many other comments to this effect, calculated to dissuade such potentates as might be inclined to undertake this expedition. From these and other reasons, your Highness may conclude that at the present time England is not on good terms with the Emperor, especially as no imperial ambassador or secretary has resided here for many months past, which was never the case when they were united. Add to this, the English now abuse his imperial Majesty in public, as if he were an enemy.

After the sermon, I again conferred with the Cardinal, the Spanish ambassador having departed, and he then spoke to me in another tone than the one employed by him when the Spaniard was present; nor did he any longer abuse the most Christian King, but said he hoped these cardinal-legates would arrange these disputes between the sovereigns, and that he himself would use every effort to this effect to the neglect of any private interests of his own: indeed,

that he would promote this union, even at the risk of its boding him some great misfortune, with many other exaggerated expressions to the same purport. I exhorted his lordship to this union most earnestly; and in reply, he said, "If I perceive the King of France to mean well towards his Majesty, and administer justice to our subjects, I will at any rate conclude this union;" adding, moreover, "The King of France has now got a son,[4] and his Majesty here has a daughter—I will unite them by these means." Perceiving his lordship to be quite tranquil, and that his passion had subsided, I lauded this excellent project, and told him he could do nothing more glorious in the world, or that could add greater splendour to his eminent qualities, than in the midst of such great strife amongst princes to prove himself that *lapis angularis* which joined the two detached walls of the temple.

[1] Sanuto, in his Diaries, date 17th April 1518, in recording the receipt of this despatch at Venice, writes that the English herald had been sent to congratulate Francis I. on the birth of the dauphin.

[2] In the despatch of Marco Minio, No. 169, it is stated, that in the Consistory held on 3rd March 1518, Pope Leo X. appointed as legates to England, the Emperor, Spain, and France, for the purpose of arranging the Christian expedition, the Cardinals Campeggio (the Campejus of Shakspeare), Farnese, Egidio, and Divitio, *alias* Tardato, *alias* Bibiena. Subsequently, in date of 23rd April 1518, Minio writes, that owing to the indisposition of the Cardinal Farnese, the Cardinal Tomaso de Vio, *alias* Gaetano, was accredited to the Emperor in his stead; and in the course of this mission, Cardinal Gaetano held that conference at Augsburg with Luther which is recorded by Father Paul in his history of the Council of Trent. (French translation, pp. 7 and 71.)

[3] Alluding to Richard de la Pole (White Rose), who fell under Pavia. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 262.

[4] The ambassador Minio writes from Rome that the news of the Dauphin's birth was received there on the 7th March; it must have taken place, therefore, in February. The expression of Cardinal Wolsey proves that this son also was the eldest born of the Queen of France —namely, François, who died on 12th August 1536. These two facts may serve to correct the statement in "L'Art de Verifier les Dates," to

the effect that Henry II., the *second* son of Francis I., and his successor, was born at St. Germain-en-Laye, and on the 31st March 1518. As further evidence that this birth was that of the Dauphin, see the Oration of Sadoleto, date xix *Kal. Aprilis in promulgatione Generalium Inducierum.*

London, April 12, 1518.

Since my last, I have paid the Cardinal several visits; and yesterday, on his asking me about Turkish news, I told him what I knew, which was little, as nothing fresh on that subject has reached me from your Highness. Upon this, he said to me, "Shall I convince you, Domine Orator, that his Majesty and I act sincerely, and in a Christian fashion?" And with this he showed me a document, written and sealed in form, addressed to his Holiness, and empowering the reverend Bishop de' Gigli[1] to act as the ambassador and delegate of his Majesty. In this letter was set forth the manifest peril of Christendom, and the successes of Sultan Selim, which ought, it alleged, to be opposed, both defensively and offensively. It authorized the Bishop to make truces, peace, and league, in the name of his Majesty, with all the Christian powers to this effect, his Holiness being named as the arbiter and judge for arranging the disputes which now prevail between the potentates aforesaid. In like manner, de' Gigli is authorized to ratify and swear to any peace and confederacy sanctioned by his Holiness, the document containing other clauses as usual in such cases.

I lauded the Cardinal extremely for these good intentions, without using many words, or pushing off very far from the shore, for reasons well known to your Sublimity.[2] His

lordship then asked me whether your Excellency wished for peace or war with the Emperor; to which I replied, that you had ever sought and ever aimed at peace, nor ever waged war save for the attainment of that blessing, and above all with the Emperor, for whom you had ever entertained extreme respect; indeed, that I believed you were now negotiating with him, as had been told me by the reverend Spanish ambassador. I mentioned this, considering it perfectly certain that said ambassador had notified the fact to his right reverend lordship, who then rejoined, that you had a good opinion of the King of France, although he was the greatest obstacle to this reconciliation, and this he repeated several times in various forms, saying, moreover, that he knew the King of France had suborned the Emperor's counsellors, and cajoled his imperial Majesty himself, both with money and promises; so that, should no arrangement take place between said Emperor and your Excellency, it will be owing to the interference of the King of France. The sole object, he said, of the French King was to make himself master of the greater part of Italy, by promising the towns of your Highness to the Emperor; concluding by the remark, that if your Excellency chose, the King of England and his right reverend lordship would mediate to effect this peace.

I thanked his lordship, but did not think fit, most serene Prince, to make any sign of approval or acceptance of his offer, being aware that the negotiation is in the hands of the most Christian King, and placing small faith in this intelligence, although his right reverend lordship gave positive assurance of it, and said it had reached him through a personage who knew the whole, and enjoyed no less authority than himself, which caused me to think that he meant the Cardinal of Sion. I even mentioned my suspicion, adding, that no great reliance could be placed

on that prelate by reason of the ill will he bore, both towards the most Christian King and your Excellency; and so much the less, as his Majesty aforesaid evinced such extreme friendship to your Signory, that it was impossible to desire greater. To this the Cardinal made answer, "Don't be surprised, for you have often been deceived by the King of France." To this I said that, "*Alius fuit Ludovicus, alius Franciscus;*" and he replied, "*Omnes sunt Galli,*" and that Gallic perfidy was notorious to every one. The most Christian King, he said, by various artifices, kept all the potentates of the world in anxiety—the Catholic King, for example, through the constant attacks made upon Flanders by the Duke of Guelders; the King of England, again, by keeping our rebels about his person, and showing them favour, and also by encouraging the Duke of Albany in Scotland; the Emperor he aids with money; your Excellency he injures by means of the Emperor; and the Pope by various devices. To all this I made no rejoinder; for had I persisted in defending the King of France, I should have roused his lordship to some display of indignation.

I subsequently endeavoured, as earnestly as I could, to get the wine duties settled; and his lordship promised me freely, that a fortnight hence, when the members of the Parliament shall be convened, he would make me come into Parliament[3] and hear me in this case, and despatch it in accordance with justice and their opinion: this he assured me positively.

[1] See despatch of May 23, 1517. A letter from this Bishop of Worcester to Cardinal Wolsey concerning the Christian expedition, and dated Rome, June 13, 1518, is printed at p. 228, vol. viii. of the Italian translation of Roscoe's Life of Leo X.

[2] The Republic of Venice dreaded affording any pretext to Sultan Selim for commencing hostilities, nor was there any want of renegades in the Turkish service, through whose agency these projects for the

Christian expedition, whether discussed in London or at Rome, became known at the Porte, and for this reason, in the month of February when Leo X. was arranging the confederacy alluded to in the power forwarded to the Bishop of Worcester, the ambassador Minio requested that the Signory might not be mentioned in any writing drawn up to this effect.

[8] In the original, "Quando sarano convenuti li Signori del parlamento di farmi venir in parlamento." See *ante*, p. 72.

London, April 20, 1518.

* * * Whilst the secretary was waiting, in company with the reverend Spanish ambassador, he tells me that that prelate spoke to him about the good will of his Catholic King towards your Highness, and of his great desire to reconcile you to the Emperor, to which effect he used every endeavour; adding, however, "Would that your confederates did the like, as then all dispute would be at an end, alluding to the most Christian King, which agrees with what the Cardinal said a few days ago, as stated in my foregoing; not that I deem this a confirmation of the Cardinal's assertion, but merely lie upon lie (*mendacium additum mendacio*). I consider that it all proceeds from Cardinal Wolsey, with whom the Spanish ambassador has frequent interviews; and by so much the more am I confirmed in this belief, as I know that the Imperial ambassador has already reached his most Christian Majesty about this arrangement; and on conferring with the Cardinal, as he will doubtless touch on this topic, I shall adroitly acquaint him with this arrival. The source of his news was, I think, correctly surmised by me when I quoted the Cardinal of Sion, as there has arrived here one Dom. Matheo Bechiaria, an outlaw, a native of Pavia, who resides with the Emperor, and in the name of

the Cardinal of Sion, he circulates this report; and as we have discussed this secret in many forms and with reference to various subjects, the matter has seemed to me of some moment, and not to be concealed from your Excellency.

In the month of June, his Majesty and the Cardinal are going to the confines of the kingdom, some say for change of air, whilst others indeed assert that it is because his right reverend lordship wishes to visit his diocese of York, which is on the borders; nor does he dare go thither *sine magno præsidio*. Neither of these reasons satisfy me, and I rather fancy that he is going for the affairs of Scotland; they say he will remain in those parts until October or November.

Everybody here is in great expectation of the galleys, and owing to the fine weather which has prevailed of late, it is hoped that if not already in the channel, they may not be far from it; may God bring them safe! The King says that immediately on their arrival he shall go on board them, as he is at no great distance from Hampton.

London, May 2, 1518.

Having received your Excellency's letters of the 4th and 30th of March, I went to the Cardinal, who was gone into the country for his pleasure. He expressed satisfaction at their contents, declaring himself extremely anxious for the affairs of Christendom to be arranged, in order that attention might be paid to those of Turkey, but that he perceived the most Christian King to take another course. He was informed, he said, that the King of France had instigated the Duke of Guelders against certain towns in Flanders, which being well provided, had routed him with great slaughter,

and that this was not the way to denote a wish for concord amongst Christians, in order to attack the infidel; but that besides this, he had been assured of many hostile projects devised by the King of France against England and others; and of this he had a certainty, complaining extremely hereof. Perceiving that he asserted both these facts positively, I told him that as his lordship was certain, it would be needless for me to dispute the point, and that everything was possible, although I had difficulty in believing it, and that his lordship should consider that natural enmity prevails between the Duke of Guelders and the Sterlings[1] on the one side, and the neighbouring Flemings on the other, and that no mediation soever had at any time succeeded in dispelling it; possibly, I said, this disturbance might have been caused by the natural enmity existing between these people. His lordship made answer that he had perhaps been misinformed. To his other assertions, as he made them so positively, I was unwilling to offer farther opposition, to avoid appearing impassioned, rather than veracious; and especially as during the whole course of my residence in England, his right reverend lordship never appeared so well disposed towards me as on that day.

I next brought forward a matter concerning our merchants, about certain garboil[2] raised against them by private individuals, for breaking a law, which purports that no one may import malmsies unless accompanied by ten bows for each butt, under penalty of losing the malmsies, and paying a great deal of money for each butt, which business threatened these galleys, now on their voyage, with much trouble, for bringing malmsies without bows, and in fact the present consul, Messer Hieronimo da Molino, told me he was very much afraid it might occasion both hindrance and loss. Perceiving the Cardinal therefore to be excel-

lently disposed, I mentioned the matter to him so opportunely, and with such address, that he gave me assurance that I might rely on no obstacles being offered on this account, and that he would be my security for this. * * *

[1] In the original "*sterlini*," which is one of many confirmations existing in Venetian documents of what was stated by Ruding in his "Annals of the Coinage of Britain," concerning the derivation of the word sterling from Easterling, *alias* Hanse towns. In the archives at Venice there is an edict, dated October 9, A.D. 1274, by which the Grand Council orders the mint masters to cast bars of silver of the *sterling* standard for the convenience of the Venetian merchants trading with Bruges. The document exists at p. 136, in the first volume of a collection entitled "*libro d'oro*," and desires the assayers "quod reddant argentum de *sterlin* projectum in virga mercatoribus pro solidis quinque."

[2] Giustinian's words are *per certo garbuglio*, which is here translated by *garboil* to show the origin of the word, although the term *quibble* would perhaps more correctly indicate what the ambassador meant.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Venetian galleys had been in the habit of supplying us with bow staves, as well as malmsey and other good things; but towards the close of the fifteenth century our national weapons ceased to figure on the "*manifests*" of the Flanders galleys, and as they continued to bring us currants for our puddings voluntarily, Edward IV. determined to compel them to help us also to fight the French; so in the twelfth year of his reign (A.D. 1472) it was enacted, that for every ton of merchandise brought to England in Venetian bottoms, there were to be four bow staves, under penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.* for each bow deficient. The Venetians seem, however, to have evaded this statute, so in the first of Richard III. (A.D. 1483-4) it was enacted, that for every "butte of malvesy, and with every but of Tyre, *X bowe staves, good and hable stuff*, be brought, upon peyn of forfeyture of 13*s.* 4*d.* for every but of the said wynz so brought and conveid, and not the said nombre of bowe staves with the same butt," &c.

As already stated, the Venetian galleys had ceased their voyages ever since the year 1508, and the use of firearms during the wars of the league of Cambray, made the merchants of Venice in 1517 think that the English statutes about bow staves were then obsolete: this, however, was not the case, and as the English could not live without malmsey, and went to fetch it for themselves from the island of Candia whilst the Venetians were fighting the leaguers, our custom-house officers levied fines on all British vessels which returned from the Levant with malmsies unaccompanied by bow staves, and, consequently, in the sixth of Henry VIII. (A.D. 1514-15) an act was passed, declaring that the connection between archery and malmsey related merely to aliens, and not to Englishmen, who were no longer to be "*vexed*, inquieted, and troubled in the King's exchecquer for bringing of malmeseys into this realm

without bowstaves:" the dispensation, however, did not extend to the Flanders galleys, and unless Sebastian Giustinian had obtained remission for his countrymen from Cardinal Wolsey, the garboil might in equity have subjected them to fine. The duty of 18*s.* per butt levied in England, as before stated, was unfair, but the exchequer would have been justified in exacting ten bow staves for every butt, or 13*s.* 4*d.*; and as no bow staves were brought, the Venetians might have been lawfully charged that sum, being 4*s.* 8*d.* less than the illegal duty of 18*s.* It is curious that it never occurred to Wolsey to suggest a compromise, and that instead of granting a favour, he did not make a bargain.

Lambeth, May 12, 1518.

Your Highness will now learn the arrival of a fresh ambassador from his Catholic Majesty, and who, in company with the reverend ambassador in ordinary, has had a long audience of the Cardinal, but has not yet been to the King, because his Majesty is at a distance. Being anxious to ascertain the cause of his coming, I went, in the first place, to visit the ambassador *in* ordinary, but, in a very long conversation which we held together *pro formâ*, I could get nothing from him but the general declaration that it was for the benefit and peace of Christendom: it appeared to me, however, that he did not assign the true reason. On the morrow, therefore, I went to visit the new ambassador, who is lodged in another habitation, apart from his colleague. His lordship received me more than kindly, and we remained together, discussing various topics for upwards of two hours, though he did not tell me distinctly why he had come, neither did it seem to me discreet to ask him the question, but in the course of so long a conference I drew the following conclusions:—first, that the Catholic King maintained close friendship and alliance, both with France and also with England, though he expressly stated that the

confederacy with this most serene King was much more intimate than the one with his most Christian Majesty; and he declared, with marks and demonstrations of great warmth, that should the Catholic King hear of the King of England or his realm being injured or invaded by any potentate, he would not brook it, and would employ all his forces to repel attack, and wage war on such as should choose to injure England. He said, moreover, that he knew the King of France was contracting a friendship with the King of Denmark,[1] and he assured me, in rather an angry tone, that should the King of Denmark devise anything against this realm, his Catholic Majesty would send as great an armada and as strong a force as he could muster, to annihilate King Christian, although his brother-in-law; and this he repeated to me several times, saying, "I declare this to you as a remarkable fact." Coupling this with many other expressions, I conjecture that the mission of this ambassador has been induced by his King's having heard of some project devised by the most Christian King and the King of Denmark against England, and for the purpose of assuring this King of his sovereign's good will.

We also discussed the affairs of your Highness, and he said to me, "I perceive nothing productive of greater scandal amongst Christians than the discord between the Emperor and your Signory," appearing very anxious for the reconciliation, and declaring that his Catholic Majesty was equally desirous of it, as indispensable for the general quiet. * * * He told me a story how his father, the late King Philip, had received an impression from the Emperor that your Highness had ever been hostile to him, being the cause of his not obtaining the kingdom of Hungary, as he would have done,[2] and many other things. King Philip, however, he said, had endeavoured to soothe the Emperor, being well aware of

his cravings, and that the Catholic King does the like; adding, that your Highness should endeavour to obtain peace or truce with his imperial Majesty, but that if from the fault of either of the parties this should be impossible, he besought you not to injure the Emperor nor his interests, nor yet the Catholic King, but keep terms with him and hold his friendship in account. Moreover, he said you should keep your eye upon the exiles from your cities, now under the protection of the Emperor, into whose ears they daily whisper their sinister designs, and excite him to wage war. To this I made answer, that your Highness desires nothing more anxiously at this moment than to be reconciled to the Emperor; and with regard to his Catholic Highness, you meant to preserve friendship as inviolably as ever maintained by you with any sovereign in the world. This seemed to gratify his lordship greatly; and he told me, that either by letter or by word of mouth, as he was returning shortly, he would certainly report what I had said to his Catholic Highness, who, he was perfectly sure, would very much value and appreciate your Excellency's good will, and with this I took leave.

[1] Christian II., who married the sister of Charles V. A.D. 1515 (See vol. i., p. 264). The complaints of King Christian against England probably related to the repeal of a statute (8 Henry VI. chap. ii.) which prohibited fishing in Iceland, or making purchases of fish or other Danish produce elsewhere than at Northbarne, which King Eric IX. wished to make his staple. Henry VIII. repealed this act in the first year of his reign, A.D. 1510. (See Statutes, vol. iii. p. 1.)

[2] Maximilian, on the death of Matthias Corvinus in 1490, became one of the competitors for the crown of Hungary, as mentioned in the introductory account of Giustinian.

Lambeth, May 22, 1518.

* * * To-day I received letters from the magnifico the captain of the Flanders galleys,[1] which, by the grace of God, reached Hampton on the 19th instant. I fancy that the King will go that way, and I therefore some time ago wrote two letters to Hampton for instant delivery to the magnifico the captain to give him notice of his coming, so that he might be prepared to do honour to his Majesty and your Serenity, for which his magnificence has returned me many thanks. After the despatch of the Spanish ambassadors, if able to ascertain when his Majesty means to go, I would contrive to meet him, or be at Hampton awaiting his arrival. Whilst writing this, the letters of your Highness, dated the 20th ultimo, have been delivered to me, and I thereby learn the commendation bestowed on my proceedings, for which I return infinite thanks, but first of all to the Lord God, who induced my compliance with the will of your Highness. With regard, however, to my vouching for the good will of the most Christian King, the Signory may not marvel, as *mutatis rebus mutantur consilia.* Down to that time,[2] according to what had reached my notice, there was no reason for suspecting this stir, considering either the union between Spain and England, or the desire of France for the Christian expedition, which seemed to indicate the very reverse of such a move. Before now, indeed, I had surmised, from the language of the reverend Spanish ambassador, that something was in agitation; and therefore, when conferring with the Cardinal, I was less earnest in defending the cause of the most Christian King.

[1] Andrea Priuli. See *ante*, pp. 45, 46.

[2] It would seem by this that the Republic of Venice had heard of a league between France and Denmark against England, and warned the

ambassador no longer to guarantee the pacific intentions of Francis I. It is to be regretted that the archives of Venice contain no copies of any missives written by the State at this period to Sebastian Giustinian, whose own expressions are vague. Our own historians say nothing of any Gallo-Danish alliance against England at this period, which so immediately preceded the surrender of Tournai; any notices, therefore, on the subject would have been of a certain historical value. The fact of ambassadors from Denmark being at the French court in March, 1518, and offering ships, &c., for an attack on England, is mentioned in the despatches of the Venetian ambassador in France, Antonio Giustinian. (See Sanuto's Diaries, date 26th March, 1518.)

Lambeth, June 6, 1518.

Since my last, dated the 28th ultimo,[1] nothing has occurred worthy the knowledge of your Highness, owing to the absence of the King and Cardinal; so, as his Majesty is going, in three or four days, on board your Excellency's galleys, I shall betake myself thither likewise, rather for the sake of meeting his Majesty than on any other account. A report has prevailed for some time of the pregnancy of the most serene Queen, which I did not think fit to announce until the thing was certain: but at this present it has been announced to me by a trustworthy person, who heard it *ex ore regio* — an event most earnestly desired by the whole kingdom.

Yesterday, I went to visit the reverend Spanish ambassador, who is returned from the court, but I could learn little from him. His colleague, who arrived lately, has been despatched by the King and Cardinal for Flanders, where he will remain until the arrival of the most illustrious the Infant, who is expected hourly; but conversing with the ambassador resident here about the Christian powers, he told me that his King was solely intent on uniting them,

and that the only obstacle he perceived was the affair of the reconciliation between the Emperor and your Excellency, which, if not effected, great tumult might arise in Christendom. * * * After hearing his arguments, I rejoined that his lordship ought therefore to exert himself with the Catholic King to arrange this matter, both for the sake of harmony itself amongst Christians, and also to prevent the Turk from invading his Catholic Majesty and your Excellency, who are exposed to more peril than the others, and are consequently the most interested in the peace of Christendom.

By letters from my family, I understand that the despatch of my successor is being delayed;[2] I implore, as a grace from your Highness, that regard may be had, if not to my other circumstances, at least to my age,[3] so that I may come and rest with my family.

[1] The despatch of the 28th is omitted: the principal subject mentioned in it is the arrival in London of an individual called "the son of the late King of Cyprus." The claims of England upon Cyprus in right of Richard Cœur de Lion, were alluded to in vol. i. pp. 203, 204.

[2] Sanuto in his Diaries, date 19th June, 1518, mentions, that owing to the prolongation of the truces with the Emperor, several members of the Venetian college were inclined, on the score of economy, to dispense with the embassy in England; and Antonio Surian, whose appointment as successor to Giustinian has been already recorded, obtained leave to go for a few months to his estates in the province of Brescia.

[3] In a similar appeal omitted at the close of the despatch dated May 12th, Giustinian mentions his age as 58 years.

Lambeth, June 7, 1518.

Since yesterday, when I wrote my last, nothing else worthy of notice has taken place, save that a courier has arrived from Rome to the address of this right reverend

Cardinal, who, according to general report, is appointed Legate a latere, a grade he very much desired, and he is said to have made a handsome present to the messenger. I have deemed it well to write this, in order that should you think fit, you may congratulate his lordship by letter, evincing extreme joy, as the appointment is highly agreeable to him, though I doubt not but that your Highness will have done so, and excuse me, should I take undue liberty.

I am now leaving for Hampton to meet the King, from whom, in the course of conversation, I hope to elicit something worth notifying, and my letters shall give most speedy notice to your Excellency of all that may chance.[1]

[1] Concerning the appointment of Cardinal Wolsey as legate *a latere*, the ambassador Minio writes from Rome in date of the 12th of May:—

"His Holiness also told me that the Emperor had made a demand for the right reverend Bishop of Gurk to be created legate, and that he meant to grant this; but that he chose his own legate to arrive in Germany first, and that this was the reason why the Cardinal Farnese had not chosen to accept the office. He added that it behoved him do the like in England, because the King chose the right reverend of York to be also elected legate, adding, 'These two cardinals are themselves the kings, so we must satisfy them."

Lambeth, June 16, 1518.

By my foregoing, in date of the 7th instant, I wrote that I was going to Hampton, and that his Majesty also meant to do the like. I went accordingly, and arrived there on the 9th, being received with every demonstration of honour and good-will by the most noble the captain of the galleys, as likewise by the magnificoes the masters[1] and others. On the morrow, the aforesaid magnifico the captain, with the masters and myself, went out of the town to meet his

Majesty; and on coming up with him, the most noble captain, having halted, delivered a brief Latin oration on horseback, so well suited to the time and place that more could not be desired, surpassing the expectation of his entire auditory, which had no idea that a professor of navigation and commerce could prove himself so able a rhetorician. The reply, by order of his Majesty, was made by a councillor, one of the finest scholars[2] in his court, who used terms of the greatest honour, both towards your Highness, and, moreover, respecting the person of the captain aforesaid; and after accompanying his Majesty to his dwelling, we took leave, having received the kindest welcome possible.

On the following day, the Lord Admiral[3] acquainted us with his Majesty's desire that the crew of the flag-galley might not be on board during the visit, as it had been reported that the galleys were somewhat infected with plague. Moreover, that all the powder should be disembarked, and that during his stay on board no cannon should be fired; which was complied with. After dinner, we went to conduct his Majesty, who with the whole court got afloat and ascended the flag-galley, which had really been prepared royally, with a spacious platform decorated with every sort of tapestry and silk; on either side of which were four rows of tables, served with every sort of confection, for there were upwards of 300 persons present. The King passed down the centre; and when he got upon the poóp, a variety of dishes, containing sponge cakes and other confections, were brought, and which, having been tasted by his Majesty, were distributed amongst the barons and lords and other great personages.

The rest of the company, of the middling class, was placed at the tables, which were not merely cleared of the confections, but we even distributed amongst them the glass

vessels[4] which had been full of wine. The sight was such, that the King several times, not without exciting some surprise, praised the arrangement both to the captain, to the masters; and to myself, thanking us in the name of your Highness, saying, "You have treated us better than we ever could have expected."

After this, the officials of the galleys performed feats on slack ropes suspended from the mast, to the immense admiration of spectators unaccustomed to witness such feats.[5] His Majesty then departed, accompanied by all of us, and the next day, he chose to have all the guns fired again and again; marking their range, as he is very curious about matters of this kind. He praised everything; and in the evening fire-works were let off, the effect being really worthy of commendation. During the whole period of his stay at Hampton, we accompanied him wherever he went, and he invariably made us the most loving demonstrations possible, repeating that we were to thank your Highness for the honour done him; and his whole court extols the great and honourable display made, which, in truth, merited what was said about it. On the Saturday, after dinner, his Majesty left Hampton, accompanied by us for a certain distance outside the town, and then, as he did not wish us to proceed farther, we took leave, and his Majesty went to the palace of the Bishop of Winchester; but ere departing, he drew me aside, and asked for Turkish news, when I acquainted him with what had reached me from your Highness and my own correspondents. He said this was the moment for a union of the Christian powers, in order not to lose the present opportunity; adding, that he himself had less reason to be anxious about it than the others, as he was the most remote from the peril. He then inquired the state of the negotiations between the Emperor and your Highness, concern-

ing peace or true, and I replied, that I was aware that you had commenced treating many days ago, but that I did not know of any settlement. In conclusion, I recommended to him the interests of our nation, which had ever been favoured by all his predecessors; and this I did, because it had come to my knowledge that many scandalous reports had been circulated by the malignants.[6] The King answered me, that your Highness had ever been loved by the other sovereigns of this realm, but never more, nor indeed so much, as by himself, for which I thanked him with all submission, and in suitable language, assuring him of every possible reciprocity on behalf of your Highness towards his Majesty, who said he knew your Excellency acted by him with all faith and sincerity, and that he placed such trust in me, that even should you wish to deceive him, he was convinced I should refuse to do so. To this I made reply, preserving the decorum of your Excellency as becoming, and saying, that any actions of mine, which might prove agreeable to his Majesty, proceeded entirely from your Highness, of whom I was a mere instrument, and that your Signory was the chief cause.

[1] Masters, *alias* supercargoes. See *ante*, p. 45.

[2] Probably Cuthbert Tonstal, who will be mentioned again in date of September 24th.

[3] Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey. See *ante*, p. 74.

[4] Some idea of the shape of these vessels may be formed from the supper in Emaus by Gian Bellini, as also from the many representations of banquets by Paul Veronese and Titian, and their contemporaries.

According to Marini, in his history of the trade of Venice (vol. v. p. 260), her glass manufactories were already famous in the year 1289, and in the following century, Venetian glass found its way to the Emperor of China, to the Grand Cham of Tartary, and to the Great Mogul.

[5] The foregoing sentence stands in the original thus: "Da poi, li officiali di le galie actizorno per corde de l'albero, che fu cosa di grande admiratione di tutti non usati veder tal actitudine." These evolutions recall to mind the feats of the Venetian sailors on the last Thursday in the Carnival, which are described by Giustina Michiel. A rope, she says,

one end of which was secured to a lighter off the Piazzetta, and the other to the gallery of St. Mark's tower, served a Venetian mariner annually on that day as the means of reaching the belfry from the sea; the Doge used to witness the feat from the gallery of the ducal palace, and when the mariner had reached the tower, he redescended to his sovereign and presented him with a nosegay; then ascended again to the tower, and after a short rest let himself down once more to the sea. The performance witnessed by Henry VIII. on board the Venetian flag-galley in Southampton harbour, in June 1518, was doubtless some national exhition of address and agility, which even far away in the Atlantic reminded the mariners of Venice of the Adriatic and her carnival.

[6] The precautions taken by the Earl of Surrey might make it appear that the Venetians were suspected of some intention of blowing up the King: from the following letter, however, it will appear that the grievous *calumny* to which Venice had been subjected was that the exports of her merchants from England vastly exceeded their imports.

Lambeth, June 21, 1518.

On my return hither, I thought fit to go and visit the right reverend Cardinal, who had been a long while absent, both for the purpose of congratulating his lordship on the dignity of legate as conferred upon him, and also to negotiate the affairs of your Excellency, and to acquaint him with the summaries from the Levant, contained in your Serenity's letters of the 20th April, which reached me on the 18th instant; but, as his lordship was indisposed, I could only obtain audience of him to-day, when I forthwith performed the office of congratulation; communicating in the next place the summaries from the Levant, telling him, moreover, of what took place at Hampton; and finally, I discussed two matters concerning our nation. His right reverend lordship thanked me, in the first place, for my compliment touching the legation, which he seems to hold in small account, as (according to what the King told me[1] at Hampton) it is only to last during the stay here of the Legate

Campeggio, who has arrived at Calais, and is expected daily. He next expressed great satisfaction that Sultan Selim should be occupied with the Sophy, as it convinced him that neither during this year or the next would he meddle with Christendom. After this, he thanked me for the honour paid his King, who had written to him announcing the greatest possible satisfaction thereat, to all which matters I replied becomingly, according to the intention of your Excellency.

Passing then to our national affairs, his lordship told me, that should your Excellency act by his Majesty as of yore, you should meet with the best return, but that two circumstances had occurred much at variance with what was expected; first, instead of two galleys unloading at Hampton, only one had landed her cargo, the other two going over to Flanders. Secondly, that in bygone years, the galleys came so richly freighted, that a small addition to the value of their imports sufficed to defray the cost of their homeward cargo; whereas, at this present, they are so poor, that the whole of the merchandise imported will not equal the value of one-sixth part of the homeward cargo, which must consequently be paid for with the funds of others than Venetian merchants; a fact extremely prejudicial to his Majesty, who, when anticipating some profit from the galleys, finds himself compelled, on the contrary, to yield such to them. His lordship said he had been assured of what he told me, and that he, therefore, meant to ascertain how these galleys were to be loaded, since as the property of the merchants of Venice could not cover the cost of full cargoes, he should only allow them to ship for the value of their own effects.

To the first part, I replied that the old custom was observed of unloading one at Hampton, the others proceeding to Flanders,[2] according to very ancient agreement existing between that country and your Signory; and that to have

unloaded two galleys at Hampton would have been a violation of compact. This, however, I observed was a quibble, suggested by envious and malignant persons, rather than the truth; that the galleys were not so poorly freighted as stated by our slanderers, and that the value of what they brought, would in great part defray the cost of the homeward cargo, added to which, the masters were bound to supply a great part thereof, remittances to this effect from Venice hither being made constantly, and would continue to be made; and that sundry merchants, not accustomed to frequent this mart, had already come by land, and that I myself was anxious for the merchants of Venice themselves to freight these galleys for their own advantage. If, I continued, the outward cargoes were less valuable than of yore, the reason was twofold; first, because the spices are not saleable here at the same price as formerly, owing to the competition with Portugal;[3] and, secondly, that nine years had elapsed since the appearance of our galleys in these seas owing to the wars with France and Spain, so that the merchants had not shipped as they would have done, from not knowing what the fate of their venture might be; but on ascertaining through this voyage what would yield them profit, all would come straight another year, and that his right reverend lordship would perceive a great difference between the future galleys and these present. An exact estimate, I said, was well nigh impossible, for many reasons which I assigned him; the demand, moreover, being rather ignominious for our nation. After all, his lordship expressed his determination by all means to see how the outward cargo of these galleys was made up, but not so much in detail. I fancy he will insist on verifying the fact, but will content himself with a general notion, for many lies have been told him by the envious and slanderous.

I will also confer with our merchants here, and take full instructions from them; for what I said was extemporaneous succour, my experience being greater in other matters than in commerce, and when better informed, I shall render every possible assistance, and in short do all I can to prevent any prohibition against purchasing wools and other usual commodities. Concerning the two points affecting our nation, it has been arranged that one shall be despatched to-morrow, and with regard to the other, which is that of the wines of Candia, his right reverend lordship has promised me most positively to take me before the council, and obtain audience there for my arguments on behalf of your Excellency, and afterwards decide; may God grant that we may at length witness the end of this chicanery! After these colloquies, his right reverend lordship requested me very earnestly to contrive with the magnifico the captain and the masters, that paying for the same, he might have certain choice carpets, and some other articles, but, above all, the carpets. I told him that I did not know whether there were any, but that if there were, his lordship should have them. I suspect he will not be accommodated, which will prove of serious detriment to us; whereas had he received twelve or fifteen small handsome carpets, he would have been extremely satisfied. Should your Excellency think fit, you might see either to forwarding them by land, or promise that he should receive some by the next galleys.[4]

A French secretary, and a herald likewise, have arrived here, on account (according to what the Cardinal says) of the claims for damages made by the French and English, and also because of certain fugitives from Scotland suspected of rebellion, who, according to the conditions existing between this King and that country, are not at liberty to remain in England. His lordship expressed hopes that

everything would be arranged, and a general peace be effected amongst Christians, to which indeed the present situation of affairs, he thought, seemed to tend. He added, that he would prove to the world what it may be in his power to effect for the furtherance of this holy alliance,

Positive intelligence has been received here of the arrival in Flanders of the most illustrious the infant Don Ferdinand.

[1] In King Henry VIII., act iii. sc. 5, Lord Surrey accuses Cardinal Wolsey of having "*wrought to be a legat*, without *the King's assent or knowledge*." It would seem from this despatch that at any rate the act was not resented by the King at the moment. See also p. 191.

[2] In the Priuli statute book it is stated that one galley was to remain at Hampton, and the other two to proceed to Helvoetsluys or Antwerp, at the option of the captain and masters.

[3] See *ante*, p. 76.

[4] In his report to the Senate the ambassador Giustinian alludes to these carpets, the arrival of which in London may possibly be recorded hereafter. A note of them exists in the Harleian collection (No. 599) where, amongst articles of the "houshold stuffe" of Cardinal Wolsey, there figure "carpets received from Venice."

Lambeth, July 3, 1518.

* * * The French secretary is yet here, not having been hitherto despatched. I sent to visit him in the name of your Excellency, and should have been glad to speak with him, but it did not seem to me for the decorum of the State to go to him in person, nor has he called upon me.

The Apostolic Legate[1] has been many days at Calais, detained there by these lords, and will moreover remain thus for some while, but cross eventually for the exercise of his office, and preparations are being made to do him great honour. I thought it would be proper to pay him the com-

pliment of going to meet him, but did not choose to take any step without first speaking to the Cardinal of York, this being necessary, and he told me it was not the custom of this kingdom, when honour is done any great personage on his arrival, for him to be met by others than those appointed by the King, wherefore he recommended me to abstain. I asked him whether the reverend Spanish ambassador would go to meet this Legate, and he answered me in the negative, and that if he did, he would let me know, that I might do the like, so I shall act accordingly, but on the arrival of his right reverend lordship, will endeavour to be the more assiduous in visiting him at his own dwelling. His secretary, who arrived in London several days ago, has been to visit me, and appears well inclined towards the interests of your Highness, of whom he speaks most becomingly.

[1] Cardinal Campeggio. See *ante*, p. 177, note 2.

Lambeth, July 22, 1518.

By my last, of the 3rd instant, your Highness will have been acquainted with every event; and I now inform you that the French Secretary, who arrived here lately, has departed, and is to be replaced by two great personages as ambassadors, whose mission, according to common report, is with a view to conclude the nuptials between the most illustrious the Dauphin and this most illustrious Princess,[1] though these lords do not choose to admit it, and when I mentioned it to the Cardinal, whilst denying the fact, he told me not to repeat it.[2] Subsequently, when speaking with others of the nobility, I took the matter for granted, that

they might not deny it; neither did they, and owned that two ambassadors of great rank were expected here in a few days. I moreover perceive many signs which convince me of this, one of which is, that these lords are now less lavish in their abuse of his most Christian Majesty.

Your Sublimity also learnt the arrival of the right reverend Legate, Campeggio, at Calais, where he has been a long while detained. The cause of this delay is reported variously, though these lords say that he will be allowed to cross in a few days.[3]

I, most serene Prince, have been here during forty-four months, and within the last few days two of my servants have died of plague in the house, and I have had the sweating sickness twice in one week. Your Highness will comprehend whether necessity and the term of my service warrant my anxiety to return; and although I imagine that by this time steps will have been taken to effect this, nevertheless, should it be otherwise, which I cannot bring myself to credit, I beseech your Signory, *per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri*, at length to recall me from this relegation, rather than legation.

[1] The first thought of this alliance has been recorded at p. 177. Concerning former embassies in 1517, see pp. 90, 96-100, 111, 135.

[2] The French Government seems to have been much more communicative on this subject than the English, for the Venetian ambassador accredited to Francis I. wrote from Angiers in date of the 18th July, announcing that Mons. de Villeroy, whom he styles ambassador, and not secretary, had forwarded news from England of this marriage and league, &c., and that Tournai was to be surrendered, which intelligence was given to him when out hunting, by the Grand Maitre, Mons. de Boissi. (See Sanuto's Diaries.)

[3] The cause assigned for this delay by Hall is as follows: "When the Cardinall of Yorke knewe that there was commyng a legate into Englande whiche should have a greater preheminence then a Cardinall, he whose ambicion was never satisfied, caused a bishoppe and certain docters to passe the sea to Calice to welcome hym, and to shewe hym that if he would have the Pope's purpose to take any effecte in Englande,

he should in any wise sende in poste to Rome, to have the saied Cardinall of Yorke to be legate also, and to be ioyned in commission with hym, whiche thyng was doen (not without good rewardes), so that in thirtie and five daies the bull was broughte to Calice. Duryng whiche tyme the Cardinall of Yorke sent to the legate to Calice redde cloth to clothe his servauntes, whiche at their commyng to Calice, were but meanely appareled; and when all thynges were ready, he passed the sea and landed at Dover, and so kept furthe his iorney toward London. At every toune as thei passed he was received with procession, and accompaignied with all the lordes and gentlemen of Kent; and when he came to Blackheth, there met him the Duke of Norfolke, with a great nomber of prelates, knightes, and gentlemen, all richely appareled. And in the waie he was brought into a riche tente of clothe of golde, where he shifted hymself into a robe of a cardinall, edged with ermyns, and so toke his moyle ridyng toward London."

This, however, does not agree with the facts recorded by Giustinian, who mentions that the bulls appointing Cardinal Wolsey legate *a latere* had reached London long before. See the despatches of June 7th and 21st, and the note appended to the former from the ambassador Minio, at pp. 191, 195-199.

Lambeth, August 2, 1518.

By my letters of the 22nd, your Sublimity will have learned what I considered worthy of your knowledge, and if not diffuse, either then or now, it must be attributed to the plague, which has incapacitated me from transacting business with the King or Cardinal, neither of whom would have received me. I am now able to inform you, that on the 29th ultimo the right reverend Cardinal Campeggio at length made his entry into London, really in very stately form; save that neither the King nor Cardinal were present, from dread of infection. I went, by consent of Cardinal Wolsey, to meet his right reverend lordship, and the Spanish ambassador did the like. On visiting him subsequently, I was received in the kindest and most gracious manner possible, the Legate evincing the greatest affection towards

your Excellency, styling himself your subject in right of his see of Feltre,[1] and speaking with so much honour of your Excellency, and of what might be expected from you in favour of the Christian religion, that more could not have been desired. To all this I made answer, reciprocating the compliment, laying before him the especial love borne by your Highness, both publicly and in private capacity, to his Excellency his late father, and the respect you now entertained for himself individually, of whom you promised yourself no less than if he were Venetian born, adding many other words to this effect. On my departure, he invited me to repeat my visits, and accompanied me through several chambers to the stairs. To-morrow, his right reverend lordship is to go to Greenwich, where he will be received by the King, and I also shall go, and write immediate notice of what I may hear to your Excellency. Should the Cardinal of York have dismissed his fear of infection from the plague, I will also endeavour to negotiate the matters which remain for me to despatch during the short time I have to remain here.

[1] The Campeggio family was of Bolognese extraction, and jurists by descent, both the father and grandfather of the Legate having filled law chairs in various universities. Giovanni Campeggio, the father of the Legate, lectured with the greatest success at Padua, and amongst the many law treatises composed by him are *Consilia*, *Tractatus de Statutis*, *De Immunitatibus*, *De Dote*, &c., His son Lorenzo, the legate, also commenced his career as a jurist, and likewise filled a law chair at Padua, but on the death of his wife he entered the Church, and was made Cardinal by Leo X. Hume mentions the presence of Cardinal Campeggio in England in this year 1518, but in most English minds the name of Campejus is more associated with events which took place in 1528-9, as recorded by Shakspeare in King Henry VIII.; and the despatches of the Venetian ambassador who succeeded Giustinian at the court of England inform us that the *second* visit to England of Cardinal Campeggio, induced by the divorce case of Queen Catharine, commenced in the month of October 1528, and that about the 11th of the same month in the following year, he quitted London, his departure preceding the fall of Cardinal Wolsey by one week. Shakspeare has linked the name

of Campeggio with that of Richard Pace, and the despatches of Giustinian sanction the connection.

The entry of Campeggio into London is thus recorded by Hall, folio 64. "The night before he came to London, the Cardinall of Yorke, to furnishe the carriages of the Cardinall Campeius, sent to hym twelve mulettes with emptie cofers covered with redde, whiche twelve mulettes wer led through London, amongst the mulettes of Campeius, whiche were but eight, and so these xx mulettes passed through the stretes, as though they had been full of treasures, apparell, and other necessaries.

"And when they came into Chepe, one of the mulettes brake from her keper, and overthrewe the chestes, and overturned twoo or three other mulettes' carriages, whiche fell with suche a violence that diverse of them unlocked, and out of some fell olde hosen, broken shoen, and roasted fleshe, peces of breade, egges, and muche vile baggage; at which sighte the boyes cryed, 'See, see my lord legate's threasure;' and so the muleters wer ashamed, and tooke up all their stuffe and passed furth. And about thre of the clock at after none on the xxix day of July, the said legate entred the cite, and in Southwarke met hym all the clergie of London, with crosses, sensers, and copes, and sensed him with great reverence. The maior and aldermen, and all the occupacions of the citee in their best liveries, stode in the stretes, and hym highly honored; to whom Sir Thomas More made a brief oracion in the name of the citee. And when he cam to Paules, there he was received by bishops mitred, and under a canapy entred the churche, which canapy his servantes toke for their fees: and when he had offred, he gave his benediccion to al the people, and toke again his mule, and so was with al his train aforsaid, conveighed to Bathe Place, and there rested, where he was welcomed of the Cardinall of Yorke."

Lambeth, August 5, 1518.

By mine of the 2nd instant, your Excellency heard that these two right reverend Legates were to go to Greenwich, where the King was to be; to which ceremony I was invited. His Majesty went as far as the lower hall to meet them, dressed in his royal insignia, with the greater part of the prelates and barons of the kingdom, and the Legates saluted him with great marks of respect; he likewise returned their salute, doffing his bonnet also with respectful

gestures, and being taken between them he came to the upper hall, where at the extremity the throne had been prepared, and two benches, one on the right hand and the other on the left. To the right of the throne were all the prelates, and two primates, according to their grades; the Legates being seated on two gilt chairs, a larger and a lesser one. On the former, sat the right reverend Legate of York, on the latter, Campeggio; then came the reverend Spanish ambassador and the rest of the prelates. To the left were all the three Dukes,[1] and other lords and barons, the first place being assigned to me. The right reverend of York, cap in hand, and standing (the King likewise being on his legs), delivered a brief Latin oration, stating the cause of his mission, and the good will of our Lord's Holiness towards his Majesty, using the following form of speech:—"*Sanctissimus Dominus noster, colit, observat ac veneratur Majestatem vestram.*" To this his Majesty replied, also in Latin, most elegantly and with all gravity, after which they seated themselves.

By permission of the King, the brother of the right reverend Cardinal Campeggio now delivered a most elegant Latin oration, purporting that his Holiness aforesaid had sent these two Legates to arrange peace between the Christian powers, and dispel all dissension and cause for dissension. Their mission, he said, had also for object to induce his Majesty to make an expedition against the Turk; especially as by his letters addressed to the Pope he had promised so to do, for the safety of the Christian religion, wherefore he thanked and praised him extremely.

To this, an answer was made by one of the attendants of the Cardinal of York, but in the King's name, thanking his Holiness for having visited and complimented him through two right reverend Legates, although he had no need of

being urged either to make terms with all the Christian powers, nor yet to undertake the expedition against the Turks, as his own will inclined him that way. The speaker added, that should the need arise, his Majesty would marshal his forces, and in no wise fail in the duty of a Christian King, speaking in much rounder terms on this subject than I had expected. This being ended, the King and the two Legates alone entered a chamber, where they remained together for about an hour, and on coming forth went towards their barge without being accompanied by his Majesty. It is said that they will return to Greenwich on the 8th instant, when I likewise will go there to learn something of their proceedings.

It has been confirmed to me, through two credible sources, that the mission of the French envoy who came here lately was for the purpose of concluding the espousals mentioned in my foregoing, and that two very great personages are expected daily as ambassadors from his most Christian Majesty to ratify said contract, on condition that the King of England restore Tournai. I have been unable to learn the other stipulations, as this treaty has been conducted, and continues being negotiated, with the greatest secresy.

[1] Buckingham (Edward Stafford), Norfolk (Thomas Howard), and Suffolk (Charles Brandon).

Lambeth, August 11, 1518.

By my foregoing, your Serenity heard that these right reverend Legates were to go to the court, as they did on the 8th, and I likewise went to hear some news, but no

business was transacted on that day, and they merely performed high mass, and gave a grand banquet to said Legates and all present, the pomp being greater and the court more sumptuous than I have yet seen it.[1] I will not now write how far the decorum of the Apostolic chair was preserved on this occasion, as it would be a long story and unnecessary, reserving this, however, for my *Report;* and for the present it may suffice for me to say, that less respect for the holy chair could scarcely have been shown.[2]

The French ambassadors are daily expected for the conclusion of the nuptials (as stated by me heretofore) of the Dauphin to the Lady Mary, and by this time no one doubts the fact, although the ministry does not choose to admit it. Preparations for jousts and other entertainments are being made, in order to pay them great honour; and of what may take place I shall acquaint your Serenity from day to day. * * *

[1] This account, and that of the preceding letter, serve to correct Hall, who supposes the banquet to have been given on the first interview between the Legates and the King at Greenwich. Our annalist writes:—

"On Sondaie next ensuyng these twoo Cardinalles as legates, toke their barges and came to Grenewiche; eche of them had beside their crosses two pillers of silver, two little axes gilte, and two cloke bagges embroudered, and the Cardinalles hattes borne before them. And when thei came to the kynge's hall the Cardinall of Yorke went on the right hande: and there the kyng royally appareled and accompaignied, met them even as though bothe had come from Rome, and so brought them bothe up into his chamber of presence, and there was a solempne oracion made by an Italian, declaryng the cause of the legacy to be in twoo articles, one for aide against God's enemies, and the second for reformacion of the clergie. And when masse was doen thei were had to a chamber, and served with lordes and knightes, with much solempnitie; and after dinner thei toke their leave of the kyng and came to London, and rode through the citee together in great pompe and glory, to their lodgynges."

[2] If this passage mean that disrespect was shown to the Legate Campeggio, it may be supposed to have proceeded from Wolsey's jealousy of his colleague. It was certainly not the moment for so orthodox a monarch as Henry VIII. then professed himself to slight the court of

Rome, for the doings of Luther had already become the subject of conversation, although the first mention made of him by Minio, the Venetian ambassador at Rome, is in his 219th despatch, 4th September 1518, in which he carelessly styles him a Dominican friar instead of an Austin friar; adding, that the Pope intended sending the Rose to the Elector of Saxony, in order to attempt through him the suppression "of an heresy (as they term it) of a *Dominican* friar, who is preaching in those parts against the Apostolic chair, condemning the forms observed at this present by the Church of Rome, saying, moreover, that the indulgences conceded daily are of no value, and a number of other things."

Lambeth, August 20, 1518.

I have now to announce the return hither of the French Secretary Villeroy, and that he will be followed by three ambassadors, who are expected in a few days, and great honour will be paid them. The Cardinal of York says the affair of the nuptials is not yet settled, as this side means the general peace to be concluded first of all, and that then the marriage shall follow immediately. The proposed articles purport that his Holiness, the Emperor, the most Christian and Catholic Kings, and his Majesty here, make a perpetual peace and confederacy for the purpose of undertaking an expedition against the Turks, and they select adherents from amongst the other powers, nor have I been able to learn that your Highness has been mentioned by anybody but France. The clauses are already drawn up, one copy signed by this side having been transmitted to the right reverend Legate at the French Court, whilst a similar guarantee from the court of France is in the hands of Villeroy. Should the most Christian King have consented, as supposed by the appointment of this embassy, said clauses thus concluded will then be forwarded to the right reverend Legates accredited to the Emperor and to Spain, his Majesty

here having pledged himself for the two last-named powers, for the sake of procuring their signature. After this, the nuptials will be concluded.

With regard to the conditions stipulated by these articles, I merely know of the disposition to act against the Turks (but could not learn the details) and of the surrender of Tournai, which city I hear from one quarter is to be given in virtue of the treaty of peace, whilst from another I learn that it is an item in the marriage contract. The Cardinal of York avoids explanation hereon, but it is only reasonable to suppose that the latter is the truth, as it is stipulated by an article in the clauses, that Tournai is to be restored to England should the marriage not take place, from default on the part of his most Christian Majesty, and not in case of the death of the betrothed.

According to the articles of this surrender, his Majesty aforesaid is to give a certain sum of money, the precise amount of which I am unable to ascertain. On the ratification of this peace between the said five powers, place is to be reserved for other adherents, who will be included as principal confederates, and amongst these it is said that the name of your Serenity appears. It is also provided, in case of dissension, or that any one of said powers should choose to invade or molest the territories of the others, all are bound to take up arms against the peace-breaker.

It is asserted that there are many other secret articles, which I have been unable to learn; nor do I even vouch for these, because, as your Highness well knows, many things are reported here which are without foundation. I have deemed it my duty to despatch the present with what has come to my knowledge; and should I hear anything else, I shall write to your Highness very frequently. My duty in this matter, most serene Prince, will be solely to

endeavour to learn the march of events, and not meddle any farther, for many reasons not fit to be consigned to writing.

Lambeth, September 2, 1518.

It having come to my knowledge that the right reverend Bishop of Paris had arrived here last evening, without my lord the admiral,[1] I deemed it so important, that I went to the Cardinal of York, in order to hear either from his lordship or others the positive truth of this business. I found the said Bishop of Paris already in conclave with his lordship and three or four other councillors, who remained a long while in dispute and difficulty, and from what I understood, some high words passed between the Cardinal and the bishop. At length when the council broke up, I met the reverend secretary Pace, with whom, by discussing the matter, I ascertained its real state. First of all, I inquired of him why the Bishop of Paris had come alone, when both the peace and nuptials were settled completely, not indeed that I believed such to be the case, but said so to elicit his opinion. He replied that the Bishop of Paris, together with Villeroy, were come to negotiate the matters for conclusion, and not to ratify an affair already settled. To-day, he said, they discussed these difficulties, which were not yet solved, for that when Villeroy first came, he made certain demands which were replied to becomingly at the time; and that now the Bishop of Paris was come to settle what was then negotiated and reported on by Villeroy; in fact, with power to draw up the clauses of the peace and marriage contract, which will now therefore be concluded. To this, upon the strength of the confidential friendship existing between us, I

rejoined, "How is it possible for these articles to be now under consideration, if the French ambassadors have been already despatched on a mission of congratulation, two of them indeed being already arrived?" He answered by denying the fact, and said that these ambassadors had been sent to demand the hand of the English princess, the King having insisted hereon when Villeroy first proposed the marriage to him, and therefore these two are come to settle the articles here, and on their conclusion, the admiral and his colleague will follow them, and propose for the bride. I next asked what the difficulties between the parties were at present; he said they related to Tournai, not choosing to particularize them to me, nor did I think fit to press him hereon. He told me, however, that the peace and nuptials would be concluded, and that Tournai would be surrendered to the King of France. I then asked him whether the surrender constituted one of the conditions of the peace, or whether it formed an item in the dower of the princess: he said it was not the custom of the English to purchase peace of Frenchmen, and that no one ever dreamt of giving Tournai *in conditionibus pacis*, but that it would be conceded on certain terms as dower. I did not inquire what these terms were, for fear of appearing too inquisitive; though they must be those mentioned in my former letters to your Highness, and perhaps some others.

I then asked who were mentioned as principals in the peace, and he said, his Holiness, the Emperor, the most Christian and Catholic Kings, and the King of England, places being reserved for many other potentates, including your Highness; that an imperial ambassador was expected, and that this entire affair of peace will be concluded here in England, of which I have also been assured by the secretary of the Legate Campeggio. I inquired what had made the

Spanish ambassador so busy of late, sending so many couriers to and fro, and he said it was because the King of Spain seemed surprised that this business had not been communicated to him, and was apprehensive of its proving somewhat detrimental to him, so he chose to ascertain the fact, and his Majesty here declared his intention of maintaining the friendship existing between them, and that he should alter nothing in their alliance.

He also told me that the final ratification of the articles would not take place for some days, but before the end of the month; saying, that he considered the matter concluded, though it was necessary to have the consent of the contracting parties.

I paid my respects to the Bishop of Paris, and sent my secretary to inquire of his lordship when he would like to receive my visit, as I had determined at any rate on going to him on the morrow. He said I was not to come, on any account, as he was occupied with these negotiations, and that he would come to me, which the secretary declined. For my part, I shall not wait for an opportunity, but will go to pay this compliment on the day after to-morrow. I likewise embraced Villeroy.

I have been unable to obtain audience of the Cardinal of York, owing to his being engrossed by these matters: to-morrow I will go to pay my respects to him, and present your Serenity's letter of congratulation on his Legantine appointment, endeavouring at the same time to learn farther particulars, and of the result shall give immediate advice to your Sublimity.

[1] Guillaume Gouffier de Bonnivet: his mission to England is mentioned by Hume, vol. iii. p. 105.

Lambeth, September 10, 1518.

After my letters of the 7th,[1] I went to dine with Cardinal Campeggio on invitation from his lordship, in order to elicit some details from him concerning the present negotiations. On my making it appear that I knew everything through France, he unbosomed himself to me more than is his wont, and imparted to me the following details, which I had not hitherto heard. Since his accession, the King of France has obtained everything he desired, nor was anything wanting but the recovery of Tournai, which he will now obtain, though with this drawback—that he is not to interfere in Scotland in favour of either party, so that the Queen may receive such honour as is due to her station, and the King be educated by persons free from all suspicion; thus confirming what I said before, that the Duke of Albany would not return to Scotland. This has seemed to me a matter of very great moment, considering the old alliance between the Kings of France and the Scots, which has always proved a burning ember to England. The Legate, indeed, is of opinion, that should any of the conditions of this peace and relationship be infringed or invalidated by the King of France, it will be this one, as it gives him much annoyance.

On quitting Cardinal Campeggio, I paid a visit to the Bishop of Durham, who, whilst discussing the affairs of your Excellency very fairly indeed, more so than I have ever heard him, said, "The Signory is great, and worthy of all favour; she has ever been on friendly terms with England, who never made peace or league without including her as her nominee;" which I consider a hint that your Highness is also mentioned by England in this present peace, for he mentioned that a few days ago your Serenity was

discussed by the Council in terms of the highest praise and commendation, which confirms certain expressions uttered to me by the Legate Campeggio, to the effect, that when these lords were talking about your Highness, he said, "What think you of the power and polity of the Signory of Venice? In this last war, there were upwards of thirty noblemen, who, for the maintenance of the State, paid taxes to the amount of 40,000 ducats each: think what must have been the quota of the others below them!" 'I merely thanked his lordship for this his good will, and for the opinion he entertained of your Excellency, without going at all into details, about including and mentioning you, for the reasons assigned in my former letters.[2] * * *

To-day, being anxious for audience of the Cardinal of York, who owing to press of business has not admitted me for many days, I sent my secretary to make an appointment for me, and he brought back word that his lordship was ill, and that he had been denied to all who are in the habit of conferring with him. This I believe to be the truth, as yesterday the Legate Campeggio wanted to go to his lordship, but received for answer that he was indisposed, and would not give audience to any one; so that my non-execution of the Signory's commissions may not be imputed to negligence or carelessness. In the mean while, however, my secretary spoke with the reverend Dom. Richard Pace, who said to him, "On the day before yesterday, concerning the affairs of Scotland, I told you that the Duke of Albany would return no more; you must know that everything has been concluded according to the wish of his Majesty, and these negotiations will be soon settled."

[1] Giustinian's letter of the 7th gives an account of his interview with the Bishop of Paris, from whom he endeavoured, but not very success-

fully, to learn the secret of his embassy. This will explain the commencement of the next sentence, "On my making it appear, &c."

[2] Fear of Sultan Selim. See *ante*, pp. 180-181, and p. 217.

Lambeth, September 18, 1518.

By my foregoing of the 10th instant, I told your Highness I was going to the King to congratulate him as ordered, so I went to Eltham, where his Majesty was, and by the warmth of my compliments endeavoured to convince him that this news of peace and union between the two crowns had been heard with satisfaction by your Highness; for as stated in my foregoing, these lords are impressed with the belief that your Excellency is not very well pleased with this alliance. I subsequently communicated to him the summaries from the Levant.

Concerning the congratulations on the peace, his Majesty said it was not yet concluded, hinting that many details yet remained for discussion. I said, that as the principal difficulties had been overcome, it seemed to me that congratulations were due as for an affair settled; he rejoined, however, that there were yet some difficulties. Concerning the summaries from the Levant, he indeed said that they appeared to him more reasonable than his own news — namely, that immediately on reaching Constantinople, Sultan Selim had commenced fitting out an expedition against Christendom. On this, as the King was going abroad for his pleasure, I took leave, and after dinner contrived a conference with the Magnifico Dom. Thomas More, newly made Councillor, who is very much my friend.[1] I adroitly turned the conversation to these negotiations concerning peace and relationship; but he did not open, and

pretended not to know in what the difficulties consisted, declaring that the Cardinal of York "most solely," to use his own expression, transacted this matter with the French ambassadors, and when he has concluded he then calls the councillors, so that the King himself scarcely knows in what state matters are. This he said, in consequence of my having gently complained to him that none of these negotiations had ever been communicated to me, but on the contrary concealed to the utmost, although your Excellency was the confederate of England. My complaint, he added, was shared by others, assuring me that the reverend Spanish ambassador had received no information concerning these matters, except the assurance that nothing would be introduced in the negotiations at variance with the friendly terms prevailing between this kingdom and his Catholic Highness. So, perceiving that I could elicit nothing further, I departed.

On the morrow, I went to the Cardinal of York, and in my congratulations on the peace expressed especial joy at his lordship's having been the author of this work, which would redound not merely to the well-being, but to the security of the Christian commonwealth. This negotiation, I said, in addition to other great deeds performed by him since he had stood at the helm here, would render him famous, not merely amongst his contemporaries, but likewise to posterity. His lordship thanked your Highness extremely for this compliment, and said that he had ever laboured to this effect, contrary to the belief of many, who were of opinion that he sowed discord between the two crowns, and that now the object he had in view will be manifest, thanks being, moreover, due to God for the offer of this opportunity, and also to the two Kings, who had not neglected it, although the final decision had not as yet been made, and that the coming of my Lord Admiral was ex-

pected for the removal of certain difficulties, but that he hoped the desired result would be attained. I exerted myself to prove how extremely anxious your Excellency was for this result, and what incredible joy you had experienced from the belief of its attainment.

I then acquainted him with the Levant news, for all which he thanked your Highness, and as he seemed rather unwell, I speedily took leave, as when thus indisposed I know he likes me so to do; and after I had withdrawn some distance he called me back, and said that on treating the conclusion of this negotiation he would send for me, as he chose me to be present, and that he meant your Highness to be included by his Majesty. I thanked his right reverend lordship for his friendly intention, without expatiating further in terms either of assent or dissent, knowing that your Highness had not chosen to be mentioned in the quinquennial truces made by his Holiness,[2] or thought fit to celebrate the prayers ordered by him, lest the fact should become known to the Turk. * * *

It is said that my Lord the Admiral is on the point of crossing, and I fancy that he will have been detained by the bad weather which has lately prevailed, especially as a vessel that was bringing over his attendants, with arms and other jousting implements, has perished, though the men were saved. Such entertainments and pageants are expected to be made here (should the negotiations be ratified), as have never hitherto been witnessed in England. My letters shall give speedy notice of what may take place to your Sublimity, whom it has pleased to be content that I should remain absent from my country for four years, which will be completed on the 10th January, on which day I left Venice. I know not whether I am at length worthy of having my prayer granted.

[1] At pp. 30 and 31 of a life of Sir Thomas More, by Stapleton, published in 1689, it is stated that after being sheriff of London, King Henry VIII. sent him on missions to France and Flanders, on his return from which he made him a privy councillor; but Stapleton gives no date, though as he says that his business in France was *de rebus repetundis*, it may be supposed that he went about the damages and reprisals mentioned in these pages under date of June 30, 1517.

[2] See note 2, p. 180.

Lambeth, September 24, 1518.

Yesterday, my Lord Admiral of France made his entry into London with great pomp,[1] accompanied by the other ambassadors—namely, the Bishop of Paris, M. de S. Danie (Campodenario), and M. Villeroy,[2]—with a great number of gentlemen and others, the number of horses being said to have exceeded 600, with seventy mules, and seven baggage waggons—a display never previously witnessed in England, nor, perhaps, elsewhere.[3] They were met by many of these lords, and a very numerous company of knights, gentlemen, and others.

To-day, I went to the Cardinal of York, under pretence of communicating the summaries received in your Highness's letters, dated the 14th August, but in reality to learn the result of the present negotiations. Whilst waiting to be introduced, M. Villeroy came, and remained a long while with his right reverend lordship. When he came forth, I was called, and after imparting my news to the Cardinal, commenced discussing what is now being treated, and he told me that peace and confederacy would be concluded between these two Kings, the Pope, the Emperor, and his Catholic Majesty, with this condition—namely, that should any one of the allies molest or plot against his fellow, all said confederates were bound to defend the party thus

molested, at the cost of the petitioner for such aid. I, knowing him to be greedy of glory and covetous of praise, said to him that his right reverend lordship would obtain immortal fame and renown by this peace and alliance, for that the Pope had laboured to effect a quinquennial truce, whilst his lordship made perpetual peace; and that whereas such a union of the Christian powers, when joined by the Pope, was usually, I said, concluded at Rome, this confederacy had been settled in England, his Holiness, nevertheless, being its head.

This peace and alliance, moreover, I continued, was rendered firm by the relationship concluded between the two crowns of France and England, a fact productive of such repute and lustre to his Majesty, and to his right reverend lordship who had led this dance, that I doubted whether the like ever befell any other State, exaggerating the matter by many other tropes, which put him into such spirits that he said, "Not only are those powers included, but you, and all my other friends." He then went to his desk; and after showing me a pontifical letter, to which a seal was appended, in the form of a commission, authorizing the conclusion of the confederacy here, he took up a piece of paper on which was inscribed one single clause relating to your Highness, of the following tenor—namely, that by common consent of the contracting parties, your most illustrious Signory was included in this confederacy, in the manner and on the conditions therein contained, specifying one particular which I do not approve, that is to say, should it be possible to adjust certain differences existing between the Emperor and your most illustrious Signory during the quinquennial truces, you would then remain a confederate like the other parties to the treaty; but should it not be possible during this interval to come to an understanding, in that case the

Pope, the King of France, and his Majesty here, are then to arbitrate; and should you not arrange these disputes, it is understood that neither the Emperor nor your Signory are to have the benefit of this confederacy. In all other respects your Excellency is to be deemed an ally, and to share the advantages enjoyed by the others—namely, to be defended, &c.

This clause about the disputes between your Excellency and the Emperor having to be settled by the three aforesaid, does not please me on many accounts, though, as I have no commission in this matter either to assent or object, I made no answer; at the same time to be comprised and mentioned as a confederate by consent both of France and England, will I think prove agreeable to the State, and for this, I expressly thanked his right reverend lordship, without committing your Highness, either by consenting to the terms or appearing to reject them. So far as I can learn, most serene Prince, everything is settled, and it only remains to draw up the clauses methodically, although the Cardinal of York says the whole is not yet quite concluded, which, however, I meant to have ascertained to-day, by going to the Bishop of Paris; but as on Sunday the 26th he is to deliver the formal oration, and being now occupied in composing it, I thought my visit might prove rather importunate than agreeable. To-morrow, if admitted, I shall visit my lord admiral, and his other colleague, who has never been here before, though I fancy they will decline seeing me until after they have been in the presence of the King.

[1] Brantome mentions that on one occasion, when Mons. de Bonnivet went to England to swear to some peace or other, he had, amongst the rest of his equipages, twenty-five sumpter mules superbly harnessed, their housings being all of crimson velvet, embroidered with his arms in silk and gold. From this despatch it would seem that the mission alluded to by Brantome was the one here recorded by the Venetian

ambassador. A modern French writer, in a work entitled François I. et la Renaissance, alludes to Bonnivet's having been charged on this occasion to *rechauffer les froides témperatures des dames et demoiselles de Windsor et de Wincester*. The Venetian ambassador makes no mention of the caloric thus commissioned for "our pale unripened beauties of the north."

[2] The names of the ambassadors who signed the treaty on the 2nd of October, were William Gouffier the admiral, lord of Bonivet; Stephen Poncher, Bishop of Paris; Francis de Rochechouart, seigneur de Campodenario; Nicholas de Neufville, seigneur de Villeroy. See Rymer, vol. xiii. fol. 624, 631.

[3] See a more particular account in note 3, appended to the despatch dated 10th October.

Lambeth, September 26, 1518.

By my foregoing in date of the 24th instant, I wrote that his Majesty was to give public audience to the French ambassadors at Greenwich, to which also I had received an invitation. Your Highness will now hear that the ceremony took place yesterday, the number of the grandees present and the splendour of the decorations being greater than usual. The right reverend Legate Campeggio was among the audience, besides all the other ambassadors resident at this court.

The Bishop of Paris delivered a grave and elegant oration in praise of the peace and confederacy which had now so long prevailed between his Majesty here and the most Christian King, who, knowing that such was expedient for the welfare of Christendom, had appointed these ambassadors to confirm this peace. In order that it might prove indissoluble and perpetual, his King, he said, was anxious to add a tie of kindred thereto, and that having an only son, who would be his successor, he made a demand for his Majesty's only daughter, the most illustrious Princess, as wife for the said most illustrious Dauphin; proving the

fitness of this measure, with many words replete with affection and courtesy, greater perhaps than seemed suited to the grandeur of the most Christian King. The recovery of Tournai, however, explains all these concessions.

The reply was delivered by one of his Majesty's councillor's, the Bishop of Ely, in terms expressive of his having been at all times desirous of peace, but much more so now, perceiving such to be requested by the most Christian King, and that touching this demand, a favourable reply would be made. With regard indeed to the betrothal, he admitted the parity of the conditions on both sides, and the equality of the most serene Dauphin (to use the precise title employed by him) and the most illustrious Princess, his only daughter, thanking them for the great praises bestowed on his Majesty, and promising a most favourable reply.

The audience having ended thus, the King then led the French ambassador and the Cardinal of York into a chamber, the Legate Campeggio and all the other ambassadors remaining outside. I imagine they went to negotiate some of the articles which have not been discussed hitherto.

To-morrow I shall go to the Cardinal of York and to the French ambassadors, and endeavour to expunge the clause which includes your Highness *circa controversias judicandas per tres judices*, and will immediately notify the result.

News has arrived here that the magnifico the captain of the Flanders galleys has departed this life, he having been long ill of a double tertian fever;[1] may the Lord have mercy upon him! I imagine his death will be a loss not only to his family, but also to the country, as he was a worthy man, most immensely to be lauded for his singular abilities and morals.

[1] Febre dopia terzana.

Lambeth, October 1, 1518.

After well pondering the difficulty produced by the objectionable clause, although not authorized by your Excellency to negotiate anything, or to assent or object to what might be done, I concluded that I ought not to allow it to stand in its present form. Accordingly I went first to my lord the admiral, and then to the Bishop of Paris, acquainting them with the contents of said clause as shown me by the Cardinal of York, stating to them that although it did not bind your Excellency, considering that it had not been assented to by yourself or any of your agents, it would yet, if allowed to pass, become an inducement for the Emperor to make such demands of your Signory as are not now thought of by him, with the belief that some one of the three arbitrators would support his claims; wherefore, I said, those who by inserting this clause expected to smooth the difficulties existing between the Emperor and your Excellency, have on the contrary multiplied them; adding many other arguments to this effect. Both their lordships told me they had not seen this clause, and that they were utterly ignorant of its contents, and that I had great reason not to assent to it. I requested their lordships, on its being shown them, to reject the terms of arbitration between the Emperor and your Excellency, and this they promised me they would do.

I then went to the Cardinal of York on a like errand, in case said ambassadors should not have kept their promise to me; but on two occasions he was gone to Greenwich, and on a third, was holding a conference with the French ambassadors, so that I could not speak to him.

To-day, I returned to the ambassadors, who assured me that they yesterday concluded everything relating to the

general peace and betrothal, simply including your Serenity, and omitting the conditions above alluded to. They told me, that whenever anything was in course of negotiation, or might at any future period be discussed, concerning the interests of your Excellency, they would act for you as for their most Christian King, with many other most fair and loving expressions, and wanted to show me the articles; but M. Villeroy said the fair copy had not been drawn up so as to admit of their being read currently, but promised to show them to me before they were made public. I thanked their lordships for this affectionate demonstration on behalf of your Highness, in strong and ample terms suited to this effect, so that they remained well satisfied. * * *

Lambeth, October 5, 1518.

By my letters of the 1st instant, your Highness will have heard that on the 3rd the general peace was to be proclaimed in St. Paul's church.[1] On that day, accordingly, his Majesty was accompanied thither by the two right reverend Legates, and all the ambassadors and the lords and prelates of the kingdom, when a solemn mass was celebrated by the Cardinal of York, with so many pontifical ceremonies, and of such unusual splendour, as to defy exaggeration.

After the recital of a very elegant and grave oration on the peace by the chief Secretary, the reverend Dom. Richard Pace, his Majesty, and the Cardinal of York, together with the French ambassadors, proceeded to the high altar, where the articles of the peace were read and sworn to by both parties, but in a tone audible only to themselves, which is

tantamount to their having cancelled the words of the preamble concerning the expedition against the Turks,[2] so I am unable to specify the contents of said clauses, but on the opportunity presenting itself, will endeavour to get sight of them and announce their purport.

These ceremonies being ended, his Majesty and the rest of the party went to dine in the palace of the Bishop of London, the King returning afterwards to Durham House in the Strand,[3] accompanied by all the aforesaid. From thence, the Cardinal of York was followed by the entire company to his own dwelling, where we sat down to a most sumptuous supper, the like of which, I fancy, was never given either by Cleopatra or Caligula; the whole banqueting hall being so decorated with huge vases of gold and silver, that I fancied myself in the tower of Chosroes,[4] where that monarch caused divine honours to be paid him.

After supper, a mummery, consisting of twelve male and twelve female maskers, made their appearance in the richest and most sumptuous array possible, being all dressed alike. After performing certain dances in their own fashion, they took off their visors; the two leaders were the King and the Queen Dowager of France, and all the others were lords and ladies, who seated themselves apart from the tables, and were served with countless dishes of confections and other delicacies. Having gratified their palates, they then regaled their eyes and hands, large bowls, filled with ducats and dice, being placed on the table for such as liked to gamble; shortly after which, the supper tables being removed, dancing commenced, and lasted until after midnight.[5]

On the 5th, the bridal entertainments were celebrated at Greenwich, being attended by the two right reverend Legates, and the ambassadors, and lords and prelates; and the decorations were most sumptuous. The King stood in

front of his throne; and on one side was the Queen and the Queen Dowager of France, with the most illustrious Princess in front of her mother, dressed in cloth of gold, with a cap of black velvet on her head, adorned with many most costly jewels. On the other side were the two right reverend Legates, and others, according to their grades. The reverend Cuthbert Tonstal, the Privy Councillor, recited a most copious and elegant oration in praise of the marriage, which, being ended, the most illustrious Princess was taken in arms, and the magnificos the French ambassadors asked the consent of the King and Queen on behalf of each of the parties to this marriage contract; and both parties having assented, the right reverend Legate the Cardinal of York placed on her finger a small ring, *juxta digitum puellæ*, but in which a large diamond was set (supposed to have been a present from his right reverend lordship aforesaid), and my lord the Admiral passed it over the second joint. The bride was then blessed by the two right reverend Legates after a long exordium from the Cardinal of York, every possible ceremony being observed. Mass was then performed by Cardinal Wolsey, in the presence of the King and all the others, the whole of the choir being decorated with cloth of gold, and all the court in such rich array that I never saw the like either here or elsewhere.

These sacred ceremonies being ended, the King and all the company went to dinner, his Majesty receiving the water for his hands from three dukes and a marquis, and then water was also given to the legates and others according to their rank. At the royal table, the two legates were seated on the right hand, at some little distance from the King; and to the left were two of the French ambassadors, namely, my Lord the Admiral and the Bishop of Paris, the Dukes of Buckingham, Norfolk, and Suffolk being seated at

the inside of the table.[6] The other two French ambassadors,[7] the Spaniard, one from Denmark, and myself, with marquises and other lords and prelates, dining in another chamber. After dinner, the King and the Cardinal of York, with the French ambassadors, betook themselves into a certain room to conclude some matters which remained for settlement, and all the rest departed.

[1] This announcement was contained in the concluding paragraph of the letter, which, for the sake of conciseness, is omitted.

[2] It was Giustinian's particular wish that the preamble directed against the Turks should be omitted, as the appearance of hostility on the part of the Signory could only have been injurious to the latter, when it was evident that no expedition would really be entered upon by the allied sovereigns.

[3] As usual on similar occasions at this period, the King had passed the night at the residence of the Bishop of Durham, the site being convenient for the procession to St. Paul's. In the twelfth year of the reign of Henry IV., "Prince Herry (Henry V.) lay at the bysshoppe's inne of Durham fro the seid day of his comming to towne unto the Moneday nest after the fest of Septem Fratrum." See Chronicle of London, Nicholas, p. 94, in Cunningham's London Handbook, p. 169.

[4] For an account of the household stuff of Chosroes II., King of Persia, in his favourite residence of Artenuta, see Gibbon, "The Decline and Fall," &c., chap. xlvi. At p. 98 allusion is made to the Cardinal's cupboards of plate in the banqueting rooms at Hampton Court, following Stowe, in whose annals it is written, that the 280 guest-chambers there, each contained "a bason and ewer of silver, a great livery pot of silver, and some gilt; yea, and some chambers had two livery pots, with wine and beer; a silver candlestick, having in it two sizes," &c., &c. It is pleasant to find York House compared to the chamber *Badaverd*. In his Report of England, the ambassador alludes especially to the quantity of tapestries possessed by Cardinal Wolsey; and, as if to make good the comparison between him and Chosroes II., Gibbon mentions that 30,000 rich hangings adorned the walls of the Persian monarch's palace of Dastagerd.

[5] The account of this entertainment given on Sunday, October 3rd, 1518, by Cardinal Wolsey, is detailed as follows by Hall: "That night the Cardinal of Yorke made to the ambassadors a solempne banket, and them accompanyed many lordes and ladyes of Englande. And when the banket was done, in came 6 mynstrels, richely disguysed, and after them followed 3 gentelmen in wyde and long gounes of crymosyn sattyn, every one having a cup of golde in theyr handes; the first cup was ful of angels and royals, the second had diverse bales of dyce, and the iii had certayn payers of cardes. These gentlemen offred to playe at

momchaunce, and when they had played the length of the first boorde, then the mynstrels blew up, and then entred into the chambre 12 ladyes disguysed; the fyrst was the Kyng hym selfe, and the French Quene, the second the Duke of Suffolke, the Lady Dawbeney, the Lord Admiral and the Lady Guyldford, Syr Edward Nevel and the Lady Sentliger, Syr Henry Guyldford, and Mastres Walden, Capitayn Emery, and Mastres Anne Carew, Syr Elles Capel, and Lady Elizabeth Carew, Nycholas Carew, and Anne Broune, Fraunces Brian, and Elizabeth Blout, Henry Norrys and Anne Wotton, Fraunces Poyntz and Mary Fyenes, Arthure Poole and Margaret Bruges. On this company attended 12 knightes disguysed, bearing torches; all these 36 persons disguysed were in one suyte of fyne grene satyne all over covered with clothe of golde, under tyed together with laces of gold, and maskyng whoodes on their heddes: the ladyes had tyers made of braydes of damaske gold, with long heres of whyte gold. All these maskers daunced at one tyme, and after they had daunced they put of their vizers, and then they were all knowne. The admyral and lordes of Fraunce hartely thanked the Kyng that it pleased him to viset them with such disport, and then the Kyng and his company were banketed and had high chere, and then they departed every man to his lodgynge."

[6] The table was in the form of a horse shoe.

[7] The English commissioners for the betrothal of the Princess Mary to the Dauphin, were the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Ruthal Bishop of Durham, Charles Earl of Worcester, and Nicholas West Bishop of Ely. The names of the French commissioners may be seen at p. 221.

Lambeth, October 10, 1518.

By mine of the 5th, your Highness will have heard what happened down to that date, since when entertainments were given at Greenwich during two days, consisting of stately jousts, and banquets, and comedies; pageants of such a sort as are rarely seen in England.[1]

On the 9th instant I went to the Bishop of Paris to hear the contents of the clauses, the which, by consent of my lord the Admiral, he caused to be read to me; that is to say those relating to the peace, but not to the betrothal, and as they abound in long paragraphs *pro formâ*, I will not write them

out literally, but merely their meaning, especially such items as appear to me worthy of note.

First, peace and alliance are made between this most serene King and his most Christian Majesty, to last for ever; his Holiness, the Emperor, and his Catholic Majesty, being included therein as principal confederates, being bound to ratify said peace and confederacy, with all the subjoined conditions, within the term of four months, in the fashion, and with the ceremonies used in similar cases; and in the event of this ratification, they are understood to be chief confederates together with these two Kings; whereas should they not ratify, they are then understood to be merely comprised *in fœdere.*

The difference thus provided for, *inter principales confœderatos et comprehensos*, is, that should any of the principals and adherents who have ratified be attacked by any of said parties, or by others not included therein, on notifying said attack to the other confederates they are bound to protest against the assailant, or to send to him to desist from his attack, and make compensation for damages within a stated period; and in the event of non-compliance, said confederates who shall have ratified, are bound, *communibus expensis*, to take up arms against the assailant and invader. Further, if indeed any of the parties comprised in the confederacy, and who may not have ratified, should be assailed by any power included in the league, or foreign to it, in this case, on demanding subsidy of the confederates and those comprised in the league, they are bound to give it, *impensis requirentis et non communibus*, and herein consists the difference between those who shall have ratified, and those who shall not have ratified. It has also been declared, that the parties mentioned and comprised, although not now principals, nevertheless on their ratifying are to be understood as becoming such, and not merely adherents.

Item, by this confederacy, it is not meant to alter any previous confederacy and friendship formed privily between any of these potentates before the present one.

Item, should war be waged against any of the said confederates, the colleagues are not to examine or take cognizance whether the places and territories on account of which the war may be waged, are held or occupied by fair tenure, but merely that the party be defended for the places and territories possessed by him, *quomodocumque*, *licet occupati*.

Item, should any of those mentioned as confederates, not conform to the clauses of the present alliance, the league between England and France is not to be considered broken, but on the contrary to remain firm and inviolable; and should any one, whether a member of the confederacy or not, molest their coasts and sea-ports, both one and the other are bound to fit out a fleet for mutual defence, and to attack the invader.

The nominees of the King of England are his Holiness, the Emperor, his Catholic Majesty, the Kings of Hungary, Portugal, Denmark, the Duke and State of Venice, the State of Florence, Duke of Ferrara, Mantua, Duke Lorenzo of Urbino, *cum* all the Magnifico House of Medici, and the Switzers. The nominees of the most Christian King, in addition to the foregoing, are the Kings of Scotland and Navarre, the Duke of Pomerania, Duke of Lorraine, Guelders, Savoy, and the Marquises of Monferrat and Saluzzo. Should there be any others, I do not remember them, for I merely collected these particulars in the course of the perusal, nor did I have anything repeated, lest they should repent them of making the communication to me, and also because the hour was late.

Before these articles were read to me, as I deemed it very strange, that during these past days, the Spanish ambassador should have been present in a secret place, at a consultation

about a certain matter, held between the Cardinal of York and the French ambassadors, and from which Cardinal Campejus was excluded, I pretended to the Bishop of Paris, in order to learn the reason of this admission, that I had heard many people complain of it, saying that it was suspected that this Spanish ambassador sought to embroil matters. The Bishop of Paris replied to me that said Spanish ambassador had sought to impede what was already settled, but did not succeed; and they told him that provided he had a commission from his Catholic King, he was to ratify; if not, the term of four months was given him for ratifying, and this was confirmed to me by the Reverend Dom. Richard Pace. I will see the Cardinal of York, and endeavour through him to hear these articles read a second time, so that should anything have escaped me, I may repair the omission at another opportunity, and also learn the conditions of the marriage and of the surrender of Tournai, though I doubt his gratifying me, as he is a very reserved person, and seems to place small trust in any one. I shall try to hear through others what I may not have been able to learn from said Cardinal of York, and will give notice of the whole to your Highness.

His Majesty here has made most liberal presents to these French ambassadors, that is to say, to my lord the Admiral, a very rich robe of cloth of gold, lined with cloth of silver, which had been made for his Majesty's own use, and was indeed worn by him one day at these ceremonies. He also gave him several pieces of plate, valued at 3,000 crowns, and three foot-cloth-horses (palfries).[2] To the Bishop of Paris plate and 2,000 crowns. To the other two ambassadors, namely, Monsieur de S. Danie and Monsieur Villeroy, he gave plate to the amount of 1,000 crowns each; and a number of the gentlemen-in-waiting on the most Christian

King, plate and apparel to the value of 500 crowns each; and to the remaining gentlemen of the embassy 4,000 crowns to be divided amongst them. To the most Christian King himself, they are sending a suit of horse harness, with the caparisons and every requisite wrought in gold filagree, a very rich embroidery, and of fine design, so that the French themselves say they never saw anything handsomer. The departure of these ambassadors is delayed until the arrival of a courier from the French court, and in the meanwhile they will be banquetted by the Duke of Suffolk and other lords.[3]

[1] "The 8 day of October at Grenewiche was song a solempne masse by the Bishop of Durham, and after masse Docter Tunstal, Master of the Rolles, which after was Bishop of London, made an eloquent preposicion in praise of the matrimony to be had betwene the Dolphyn and the Lady Mary: and all that day were the straungers feasted, and at night thei were brought into the hall, where was a rock ful of al maner of stones, very artificially made, and on the top stood 5 trees, the first an olive tree, on which hanged a shild of the armes of the Church of Rome; the 2d a pyneaple tree, with the armes of the Emperour; the third a rosyer, with the armes of England; the 4th a braunche of lylies, bearing the armes of Fraunce: and the 5th a pomegranet tree bearing the armes of Spayn, in token that all these 5 potentates were joined together in one league against the enemies of Christe's fayth. In and upon the middes of the rock sate a fayre lady, richely appareyled with a dolphin in her lap: In this rock were ladies and gentelmen appareled in crimosyn sattyn, covered over with floures of purple satyn embroudered on with wrethes of gold, knyt together with gold laces, and on every floure a hart of gold moving. The ladies' tyer was after the fassion of Inde, with kerchiefs of pleasaunce, hached with fyne gold and set with letters of Greke in golde of bullion, and the edges of their kerchiefes were garnished with hanging perle. * These gentlemen and ladyes sate on the neyther parte of the rocke, and out of a cave in the said rocke came 10 knightes, armed at all poyntes, and faughte together a fayre tournay; and when they were severed and departed, the disguysers dissended from the rock, and daunced a great space: and sodeynly the rock moved, and receaved the disguysers, and ymediately closed agayn. Then entred a person called Reaport, appareled in crymosyn satyn full of tonges, sitting on a flyeng horse with wynges and fete of gold called Pegasus. Thys person in Frenche declared the meaning of the rocke and the trees and the tournay." See Hall.

2 "*Chinee;*" for the term *foot-cloth-horse*, in contradistinction to a *war horse*, see King Richard III., act iii., Lord Hastings *loquitur*.

"Woe, woe, for England! Not a whit for me;
For I, too fond, might have prevented this.
Stanley did dream the boar did raise his helm;
But I disdained it; and did scorn to fly.
Three times to-day my *foot-cloth-horse* did stumble,
And startled, when he looked upon the Tower,
As loath to bear me to the slaughter-house."

3 As a supplement to the foregoing details of the betrothal of Mary Tudor to the Dauphin, the following is translated from the diaries of Marin Sanuto, vol. xxvi. fo. 136, A.D. 1518, October.

"Summary of some private letters from Nicolo Sagudino, the secretary of our ambassador in England, dated Lambeth, 30th September, 1518, addressed to Alvise Foscari, and which give more copious details of events there than the public despatches.

"He mentions how the French ambassadors, namely, Monsieur the Admiral having come across on the 16th of September, entered London on the 23rd, thus: first the waggons loaded with chests and other baggage; then 70 sumpter mules as usual; then eight French gentlemen dressed in silk, and many of them in cloth of gold, accompanied by an equal number of English lords and knights, in most sumptuous array, very well mounted, with handsome chains: then came the four ambassadors, accompanied by the great personages of this kingdom, and followed by the Scotchmen of his most Christian Majesty's guard on horseback, accompanied by thirty of the guard of the King of England: then the pages of the French gentlemen and others; then some 400 English horse, the entire amount of cavalry which made the entry being 1,400—700 English and 700 French. It was a fine spectacle, and they were richly and gallantly arrayed.

"On the 25th, our Venetian ambassador visited the admiral, and he (the secretary) acted as interpreter. The Admiral asked after Dom. Andrea Griti, and received for answer that he was well. Amongst the company there was one, by name Mons. de la Motte, and Count Ugo de Pepoli, who had accompanied these ambassadors. Our ambassador was excellently received by the Admiral, who is amiable and thoroughly Italianized.

"On the 26th, said ambassadors went to the court at Greenwich for audience of the King, to which our ambassador was invited; and they came in rich array, with doublets of cloth of gold, slashed in the French fashion, making a fine display. In the English court there were upwards of 400, including gentlemen and knights and lords, dressed most handsomely in silk and cloth of gold, with chains of unusual size and thickness. The King was seated at the extremity of a hall, in very rich attire, better than the secretary had ever seen him in; on the right hand were the legates, the Cardinals of York and Campeggio, and the company came into the hall in the same order as on the arrival of the

legate Campeggio, the French gentlemen placing themselves behind the benches where the great personages of this realm were seated; and then came the ambassadors, whom the King embraced lovingly, and they were seated in front of him, whereupon silence being proclaimed, the reverend Bishop of Paris delivered a grave and elegant Latin oration, to which the King caused a favourable reply to be made by the chief secretary, the Bishop of Ely. The King then got upon his legs, and calling all the French gentlemen one by one, embraced them very graciously: they were in great number, so that this greeting occupied more than a quarter of an hour, and when it was ended the King withdrew into a more retired chamber with the Cardinal of York and the four ambassadors, whilst our ambassador and the others returned home.

"On the 29th the ambassadors aforesaid went again to the court to a grand banquet, and another was given them by the Cardinal of York, so that great honour is paid them, more than was ever received by any embassy in England. They and the French gentlemen change their sumptuous slashed dresses daily, to the astonishment of every one, and go about London in bands on their mules, a fashion which is not usual amongst the English; and they appear so many ambassadors rather than courtiers. On Sunday the 3rd the peace will be published.

"Letter from the same, dated the 10th of October. How on Sunday the 3rd, the English lords and knights and the ambassadors, assembled at a palace where the King was, distant one mile from the cathedral church of St. Paul's, whither he betook himself with 1,000 horsemen, all most richly clad, &c. Then in the evening, after the banquet, at which the twelve nymphs made their appearance, there was dancing, and they played at the English game called momchaunce, and after midnight, when all had departed, the King himself remained to play high with some Frenchmen.

"Then on the 5th said ambassadors went to Greenwich at 8 A.M., to celebrate the espousals of the most illustrious Princess Mary; and being assembled in a hall, the third oration in praise of the marriage was delivered by the most learned man in England, D. Cuthberto Tunstallo, privy councillor, the Princess being in her nurse's arms, by the side of the most serene Queen, her mother. He writes, that on the evening of the 5th, besides the royal dinner, there was also a supper and much dancing, so that they went to bed at three in the morning, and thus did these pageants end. The ambassadors were to leave on the 13th, on their return to France, the King having made them very handsome presents, as mentioned in the public letters: to the Admiral Bonnivet he gave a very costly robe of cloth of gold, lined with cloth of silver, besides the one already mentioned: to four of the gentlemen-in-waiting of the most Christian King he gave plate to the amount of 500 crowns each, &c. To Monsieur de St. Meme, who is one of said gentlemen-in-waiting, a very boon companion and a favourite of his most Christian Majesty, the King gave one robe more than he did to the others, and it was of gold brocade, lined with brocade of silver, the gold outside being all slashed with a very handsome trimming of sables; and the way he

gave it him was, that during the first day's joust the King was in a gallery with all the ambassadors, dressed in this robe, and said Monsieur de St. Meme being very facetious and jesting with the King about many matters, said amongst the rest, 'Sire! I never saw a robe more to my liking than that which your Majesty now has in wear:' to which the King replied, 'Monsieur, do you think it would fit you?' to which Mons. de St. Meme rejoined, 'Well, I must try it on;' so the King took it off, and he put it on, and said, 'Sire, I never had a robe that fitted me better;' upon which the King replied, 'It is yours,' and sent for another, and Mons. de St. Meme wore it all that morning, and it is worth 1,000 ducats.

"He writes that the presents given by the King to the ambassadors and others are worth from 15,000 to 16,000 ducats, that is to say crowns.

"To-day, which is the 10th, the ambassadors are going to banquet with the Duke of Suffolk, who is a liberal and magnificent lord; it is thought they will be treated most sumptuously."

The fact of Henry VIII. having played high with the Frenchmen in England at this period, is alluded to by Sebastian Giustinian in his report; and Hall in his Chronicles (Ed. 1809, p. 520) writes that "in the second year of his reign he was much enticed to play at tennis and the dice, which appetite certain crafty persons about him perceiving, brought in Frenchmen and Lombards to make wagers with him, and so he lost much money; but when he perceived their craft, he eschued their company and let them go." Skelton, alluding to an empiric who had promised *to heal our Cardinal's eye*, mentions his having cured a Lombard, then well known by the name of

"Diego Lomelyn
That was wont to win
Much money of the King,
At the cards and hazarding."

Lambeth, October 25, 1518.

By mine of the 12th instant, your Highness will have heard what I considered necessary to be communicated, and I now announce the receipt on the 13th instant, of your missives dated the 17th of August and 1st of October, which enjoin my announcing the truces between the Emperor and your Excellency. As this news, however, had previously

reached me through another channel, your Highness will learn that I had already made the announcement, and would not repeat it after so long delay, for fear the King might make me the same answer that Cæsar did to the Trojan ambassadors.[1]

On the 23rd I received three of your letters, dated the 5th, 17th and 28th ultimo, with advices and summaries for communication, which I have hitherto been unable to impart, both because of my own indisposition, and also because the Cardinal of York has been unwell. So soon as I can go abroad, I will execute the commission enjoined me with all accuracy.

The reverend Spanish ambassador, who has resided here the last four years, on the conclusion of this peace and betrothal, requested dismissal of his Majesty here, and says he shall depart in a fortnight without waiting for his successor; a proceeding which I attribute solely to dissatisfaction experienced by his Catholic King.

The four ambassadors destined for the French court, namely, the Lord Chamberlain,[2] the Bishop of Ely,[3] the Grand Prior of St. Johns,[4] and the Captain of Guisnes, are preparing for departure. These four are charged with the negotiations, but they are accompanied by a number of great personages as advisers, who are not mentioned in the commission; besides other gentlemen who go to honour the legation, numbering in all 600 horse. They will depart hence in eight or ten days, and after the ratification of the confederacy with the most Christian King, Tournai will be formally surrendered, in virtue of a third contract, besides those for peace and betrothal. This third contract stipulates that a pecuniary compensation shall be made by the King of France, payment of which is to be made at a long date. I will not assert the amount, as it is reported

variously even by great personages, until perfectly sure of the fact, which I have been unable to inquire about by reason of my own illness during the last fortnight, and also because of the indisposition of the Cardinal of York.

Within a month, or rather more, this most serene Queen is expecting her delivery, which is looked forward to with great anxiety by the whole realm. God grant she may give birth to a son, so that having an heir male, the King if necessary may not be hindered embarking in any great undertaking soever.

I understand by letters from my family, that an accident has befallen my noble successor, calculated possibly to delay my return. Should his magnificence, perchance, scruple to depart in the winter, such a consideration ought not to weigh with one so young, for had he come at proper time, I who am now old, should not have hesitated to take the winter journey; so do your Highness deign to send him, or give me the means of coming home, and of not continuing to waste my life in England; it is high time, and I beseech and demand this of your Highness as a favour.

[1] Giustinian is here alluding to the story told of Tiberius Nero, who, when some delegates from Troy bore him tardy condolence from their city on the death of his son Drusus, rejoined, that he likewise deeply lamented the sorrow caused them by the catastrophe of Hector.

[2] The Earl of Worcester, see *ante*, pp. 135, 136, and vol. i. p. 107. The appointment of these four great personages as ambassadors on the part of Henry was mentioned by Giustinian previously to the arrival of those from France in a despatch which we have omitted, under date of September 1.

[3] Nicholas West, see *ante*, p. 136.

[4] Sir Thomas Docwra, mentioned in vol. i. pp. 93-4, and subsequently. This Prior of St. John's was one of the most able statesmen of his day, and was often the colleague of the Earl of Worcester, with whom he acted in 1509 on the indictment of Edmond Dudley. We now find them going to France together, as they had already done in September 1514, on the marriage of Maria Tudor to Louis XII. The Prior went also on an embassy to the Emperor Charles V., on which occasion he was accompanied by Sir Thomas Boleyn. In date of July 1521,

again, the Venetian ambassador in London mentions, that on the 29th the Grand Prior was going to attend the conference at Calais, on which occasion he had again for colleagues the Earl of Worcester and the Bishop of Ely, besides Thomas Ruthal, Bishop of Durham. In this last instance, the Venetian ambassador gives neither name or surname, merely writing, "Grand Prior," &c.; but as that dignity was not diplomatic, *ex officio*, it is highly improbable that Sir Thomas Docwra's *successor* would have been, like him, an efficient member of the English cabinet. Dr. Lingard, in detailing the events which took place at Calais in the autumn of 1521, says, that *Lord* St. John went thence on a mission to the Emperor; but as the first Baron St. John was not created until the year 1588-9, it cannot be doubted that the person meant was Sir Thomas Docwra, prior of St. John's, who went to Charles V. on that occasion likewise; and it is probable that he did not die until the year 1523, nor, indeed, does any official mention of his successor, Sir William Weston, exist until the year 1551-2, when he made an exchange of lands belonging to the order with King Henry VIII.

Lambeth, November 9, 1518.

By mine of the 25th October, your Highness will have heard all that had taken place, nor has anything important occurred subsequently, neither have I been able to transact any business, both because of having been ill myself during many days, and also by reason of the indisposition of the Cardinal of York, so that during this interval, I merely acquainted the King with the Turkish news, and with those from Hungary,[1] which his Majesty seemed to hold in as small account as if they had related to the affairs of India.

The reverend Spanish ambassador, with whom during all this time I have exchanged civilities, was to leave to-day. He says he has been urgent for his dismissal many months past, though the general opinion is, that his departure is occasioned by the dissatisfaction of his Sovereign at this new confederacy.

The English ambassadors destined for France have taken

leave, and I believe they commenced their journey to-day: they go with very great pomp, rather regal than ambassadorial, endeavouring in every respect to outvie the French ambassadors: it is said they will only remain a short time. The Cardinal of York has been somewhat busied in despatching them, so as to prevent my discussing the affair of the wines, which, owing to the late negotiation, has been long neglected, the merest trifle becoming a great impediment in this matter, as usual when there is a question of doing what may be disagreeable. * * *

I have heard, most serene Prince, with incredible annoyance, of the accident which has occurred to my noble successor, and which I deeply lament both for his sake (worthy as he is of extreme commiseration) and also for my own. After a lapse of forty-six months, I was expecting to reach the threshold of the senate, and to enter your Serenity's most desired presence, whereas I now perceive my hopes to be in vain, unless the graciousness of your Excellency exceed my own foul fortune. Really, your Excellency might adopt one of two courses, either give me a successor, and despatch him though it be winter, as was the case with myself, who came away at one week's notice; or permit my return without a successor, and enable me at length to revisit my country and my family, neither of whom will, I suspect, recognise me, owing to the length of time (four years and odd months at the least) which will have elapsed before I can reach the desired haven.

[1] At this period, King Louis of Hungary was only twelve years old, and his kingdom a prey to the magnates, and in a state of the greatest confusion, of which Sultan Selim I. availed himself to make conquests there, and his successor, Soliman the Magnificent, continued these inroads; and finally, on the 29th August 1526, King Louis fell in battle against him in the plain of Mohatz.

Lambeth, November 10, 1518.

Nothing worthy your Serenity's knowledge has chanced since mine of yesterday, save that the most serene queen was this night delivered of a daughter, which to the few who are as yet acquainted with the circumstance, has proved vexatious, for never had this entire kingdom ever so anxiously desired anything as it did a prince, it appearing to every one that the State would be safe should his Majesty leave an heir male, whereas, without a prince, they are of a contrary opinion. This news, therefore, is of very great importance to England, and perhaps, had the event taken place before the conclusion of the betrothal, that event might not have come to pass; the sole fear of this kingdom being that it may pass into the power of the French through this marriage. This event has prevented my going to the Cardinal, for I consider it such as would not warrant my importuning him.

Lambeth, November 11, 1518.

Since mine of yesterday, I went to visit the right reverend Cardinal of York, both to communicate to him the summaries received in your Excellency's letters dated the 1st of October, and to arrange a dispute in which his lordship was involved with the merchants of our nation, with whom he was extremely angry. By adroit language, I endeavoured to appease him, and succeeded, for whereas at first he would neither listen to them nor see them, threatening that they should learn, to their very great cost, the authority exercised by him in this kingdom; he now, on becoming calm, sent

for them, and addressed them graciously and lovingly, and they gave him seven very handsome Damascene carpets.[1] These he would not accept on their behalf, but on mine, from whom he said he would acknowledge them; for in point of fact I had proposed that the present should be made him, and mentioned that it had been my doing, though it in point of fact proceeded from the merchants, who besought his right reverend lordship to deign and accept it from them; after some demur, therefore, he consented to accept them as the gift of both.

On the departure of the merchants, I arranged two other disputes of no small importance, affecting some of our individual merchants, so that should God give me grace to settle the affair of the wines of Candia, I shall have smoothed and adapted all our national interests.

I then communicated to him the above-mentioned summaries, both those concerning the Turkish matters, and likewise the others relating to Hungary, representing them in such peril as my acquaintance with that kingdom convinces me is the fact.[2] His lordship thanked me for this announcement, and told me had received letters from the Emperor, declaring that he was very well satisfied with this union, though according to what has reached me through another channel, no commission has been given to any one here, neither is his Imperial Majesty sending any one to ratify the conditions of the league. The Cardinal added that I was to return in three or four days, when he would give me the articles of the confederacy, and letters addressed to your Highness. I said I would present myself accordingly, as I shall do, but, neither at the perusal of the clauses, nor with regard to their transmission, will I offer any comments of my own, in order that your Highness may be more at liberty to answer as you shall think fit. He then

drew me aside, and showed me the clause exhibited to me on a previous occasion, as mentioned in my despatch of the 24th of September, and which I said at the time did not please me, and that I had caused it to be cancelled through the French ambassadors. He now read this clause to me drawn up fair, in the guise of a letter, but in a more stringent form, and, in my opinion, yet more prejudicial to the interests of your Serenity.

Having attentively listened to it, I said that this article had not been noted in the contract of the league, which was sent to France; and he replied that it was not noted in the schedule of the other articles, but that he had drawn it up, and meant to send it to your Excellency in attestation of his readiness to arrange your affairs with the Emperor. My rejoinder to his lordship purported, that I was fully aware of his anxiety for the welfare and quiet of your Highness, but that possibly from his not being so conversant with the affairs of our State as I myself was, he mistook the means of serving you; and that therefore I would tell him as from myself, and with the same secresy as if in the confessional, that I considered such a provision would rather prove an occasion of controversy, than the means for ending such. The disputes, so called, between your Signory and the Emperor, I said, were at present but few in number, whereas should this clause take effect, it could but furnish the Emperor with cause and matter to raise fresh difficulties concerning matters which by right and by force of arms have been disposed of, inspiring him perhaps with the hope of clutching some thousand ducats, seeing himself in the hands of three judges from whom he might possibly have greater expectations than from your Signory, alleging many other arguments which I will not repeat, to avoid being tedious. On hearing them, his lord-

ship said, "Enough! enough! matters shall rest as they are," and he took the clause in his hand, appearing to be perfectly satisfied. I shall return to him, and keep on the watch for what he may say and read to me, so that nothing may be done to the manifest prejudice of your Excellency, but ever as of myself, tendering neither assent or dissent, without the express order of your Highness.

[1] See despatch of June 21, 1518.

[2] As stated in the introductory notices of his life, Sebastian Giustinian had been ambassador to King Ladislaus of Hungary, from the month of January 1500 until the commencement of the year 1503.

Lambeth, November 12, 1518.

By the accompanying, your Highness will have heard what had taken place, and I now inform you that I went by invitation to dine with the Legate Campeggio, who received me with the greatest possible kindness and affection. At table, in course of conversation, he assured me that at the Diet lately held at Augsburg, the Catholic King had certainly been created King of the Romans,[1] with the consent of five of the electors, the Duke of Saxony alone dissenting, though it is said that he likewise will give a favourable vote at the Diet, which it is reported will be held at Frankfort, when the announcement of this election is to be made. Your Highness will learn, I imagine, through other channels whether this news is true or not.

After dinner, having gone together into a chamber, we began talking about this general peace and relationship between these most serene Sovereigns, and as I had never been able to see the preamble to this contract, I asked

his lordship of what tenor it was. The pith of his reply purported that said preamble implied that this peace and league were made for the purpose of invading the Grand Turk, and freeing Christendom from the imminent peril that now threatened her, with other expressions proving that this was the mainspring of the alliance.

I then asked him if the copies had been sent in this form to the Emperor, and he said they had, both to him and also to his Holiness, but that the Emperor made answer expressing his approval of the union, and that he would empower the reverend Spanish ambassador, who was commissioned by the Catholic King, to ratify for both one and the other; the which ambassador, as your Excelleney knows, departed without effecting this ratification: the legate, however, says a fresh ambassador is expected. He also vouchsafed to acquaint me with the period and mode of the restitution of Tournai, telling me it will be made before the return hither of the English ambassadors who have left the French court; nor is there any doubt hereof, as he declares he saw a separate contract concerning this matter, and on my inquiring into the terms and conditions of it, he said the most Christian King had bound himself to give 600,000 crowns, that is to say, 25,000 francs annually, 300,000 crowns of which are to be placed to account of dower, and should the bride not be consigned before the 300,000 crowns are paid, in that case the most Christian King is to continue the annual payment aforesaid of 25,000 francs, although it exceed the dower. Furthermore, the King of France is to liquidate all the arrears of pay due to the garrison of Tournai.

I next inquired about the affairs of Scotland, and he told me he understood according to this arrangement, the Duke of Albany is forbidden to return there. On my remarking

that the French ambassador had denied the existence of this prohibition, his lordship seemed to hesitate a little, and then said, "I am surprised that the French ambassadors should act thus with you. Know that in all this business, four separate contracts have been drawn up: the first is that of the union between the Princes of Christendom; the second relates to the betrothal; the third stipulates the restoration of Tournai; and the fourth is this one about Scotland, which expressly specifies that on no account may the Duke of Albany return thither; and that the young King is to be educated by Scotchmen *now in that realm;*" a clause which Cardinal Campeggio says is inserted, lest his most Christian Majesty, or the Duke of Albany, should send over some Scotchman their own creature, and attempt to procure for him the wardship of this King.

I next asked him if any clause existed beyond the contents of the first instrument; and whether "White Rose,"[2] who was residing in France, and is styled by this side a rebel to the kingdom, had been dismissed, or anything else stipulated about him. He said that no other settlement had been made, beyond the clause in the first instrument, to the effect that none of the contracting parties may harbour or favour the rebels of their allies; but he assured me that within the last week a great personage had said to Cardinal Wolsey, "Know that the King of France favours 'White Rose' more than ever, augmenting his stipend, and bettering the terms he had made him, in order that he may remain in his kingdom."

Continuing these topics, he told me that his Majesty here was excellently disposed towards making an expedition against the Turk, having, he said, expressed himself hereon in such ample terms, and so lovingly, that if at first he entertained some doubts of the Christian undertaking being settled, he is now, on the contrary, firmly convinced that it will be

carried into effect, should the other principal confederates not fail. He added, "Know, and inform the Signory, that to this effect the Kings of England and France are to have an interview this year," telling me that he had seen this King's letter written in his own hand to France, pledging his royal word, that between this and next June he will cross the channel for an interview with his most Christian Majesty, at which all the legates and ambassadors of the other allied sovereigns, appointed for the said Christian expedition are to be present, and thus Cardinal Campeggio considers this business will have the desired result.

[1] The ambassador Minio writes from Rome (despatch No. 229), in date of the 4th September 1518, announcing the *intended* election of a King of the Romans, and again in letters Nos. 232, 235 (16th September), 237, 241, 246, 248 (12th November), 249, &c. In the despatches of Lord Berners, other details may also be read of the efforts made by Charles of Spain to get himself elected King of the Romans at this period, all which, however, failed, owing to the death of Maximilian on the 12th January; and we thus know that Cardinal Campeggio was misinformed.

[2] Richard de la Pole. See *ante*, p. 177, and vol. i. p. 262.

Lambeth, December 3, 1518.

I went lately to Cardinal Campeggio, and after I had thanked him for several communications, he acquainted me with two rather important facts; first, that he was of opinion that the stir made by the Bishop of Ventimiglia[1] against the present government of Genoa could not be otherwise than by the consent of the most Christian King, which would appear to me very momentous. What could have induced so sudden a change? and by what breeze is this ship wafted? I perceive that his opinion is no castle

in the air, for he has received recent letters from Rome, and has despatched a courier in haste with letters hence. Moreover, he told me there were fresh negotiations on foot for the marriage of the Catholic King to the daughter of the King of Portugal;[2] and imagining this report to be the same that circulated more than a year ago, I told him this news had been divulged a long time ago, but that the arrangement seemed not to have taken effect, whereupon he replied that this was a fresh negotiation.

He next informed me that the King of Spain was sending foot soldiers into the kingdom of Naples, and that troops were being conveyed thither by way of Trieste—a move which his lordship says is on account of the Turks. I, indeed, did not tell him my opinion, which would attribute the destination of these troops to the Portuguese tidings, his Catholic Majesty being apprehensive lest by concluding the marriage with Portugal, and setting aside that with France, the most Christian King may invade the kingdom of Naples in virtue of his claims upon it, as confirmed by the treaty of Noyon, and on this account Spain is anxious to make herself secure there.

These topics being disposed of, I took leave of his right reverend lordship, who really treats me so kindly, and evinces such great devotion towards your Highness, that if permitted I would suggest that you write him a gracious letter, in acknowledgment of his good offices. I am of opinion that such a compliment could not fail to be advantageous; for your Excellency may believe me, that this cardinal is of such ability and prudence, and knows so well how to captivate the minds of all sovereigns, that he may one day prove a very advantageous instrument. Your Highness, who is most sage, will do as to your wisdom shall seem fit.

[1] Alessandro Fregoso, Bishop of Ventimiglia, is mentioned by Guicciardini, in date of the year 1519, as having *then* meditated an attack on Genoa, but the historian does not allude to this former project in 1518.

In vol. i. p. 38, it is stated that in the year 1515, Octavian Fregoso was Doge of Genoa, and after the battle of Marignano (September 14th, A.D. 1515) he is said to have acted as governor there for Francis I. Octavian had banished his kinsman the Bishop, who wanted to be Doge himself, a grade enjoyed by his father the Cardinal Paul Fregoso from the year 1483 until 1487. It would seem by this, that Francis I. doubted the fidelity of Octavian Fregoso in 1518, and on this account favoured the projects of the restless Bishop of Ventimiglia.

[2] See *ante*, p. 141.

Lambeth, January 13, 1519.

* * * I have executed the commissions contained in your letters of the 21st November, charging me to congratulate his Majesty on the relationship and new friendship contracted with the most Christian King, and to thank him for having included your Highness in said friendship and confederacy. I found his Majesty on the point of starting upon one of his pleasure excursions; he evinced satisfaction at the good will of your Highness, and said he was glad this general peace pleased you. I then acquainted him with the summaries of news from the Levant and from Hungary; and when I came to that paragraph which mentioned that a Turkish ambassador was expected to ask peace of King Louis, this likewise seemed to gratify him, and he said it was a good thing, since it proved that Sultan Selim was not meditating immediate hostilities against Christendom: to all which comments I answered becomingly, and thus took leave.

I afterwards went to visit the Legate Campeggio, who kept me to dine with him; and after the repast showed me two letters, one from the right reverend Legate in France (Bibiena), and the other from his colleague in Spain,[1]

touching the good will of either King—that is to say, of King Francis and the King of Spain. The former, in the event of the Turk's invading Italy, offers an army of 3,000 spears, 6,000 light horse, and 40,000 infantry, provided all the Christian Princes unite and march with their entire forces. His Catholic Highness, on the other hand, limits himself to matters nearer at hand, and offers, for next March, 2,000 spears, 1,300 light horse, 15,000 infantry, and a suitable armada: details which I do not write to your Highness as news, for I imagine that your ambassadors at the French and Spanish courts will have given you thorough information on the subject, but in proof that this Legate Campeggio perseveres in his good offices.

As he told me he had not received any other news, I made no farther inquiry of him concerning the negotiation for marriage between the King of Spain and the daughter of the King of Portugal, nor yet about the other event which took place at Genoa, as I fancy that the disturbances there have been suppressed, nothing else having been reported on the subject. So soon as I am in a state to go abroad, I will pay another visit to his right reverend lordship, and acquaint myself copiously with the whole. On my remarking to him, in the course of conversation, that it might be reasonably supposed the King of England would not fail exerting himself, having the example of these other Christian sovereigns before his eyes, he replied that everything promised well, telling me that a specific determination was already formed, and that in a few days he would notify the whole to me, whereupon I took leave of his right reverend lordship.

On the return of the Cardinal of York, who is expected in a week, I moreover hope to learn every resolve through that channel.

Your Highness must not imagine that this intelligence about hostilities against the Sultan was sought for by me, as one desirous of it, for I am aware of what the Signory wishes in this respect; but, whilst discussing other matters, we broached that topic likewise.

Your Sublimity's galleys are yet in Flanders, owing to certain garboil experienced by them in those parts, but they are expected at Hampton from day to day; and I pray God to bring them in safety [1].

[1] Cardinal Egidio. See Guicciardini, vol. iii. p. 252.

Lambeth, January 19, 1519.

Since my last of the 13th instant, nothing has chanced worthy the knowledge of your Highness, owing to the absence of the King and of the Legates, who are all amusing themselves, and also by reason of my indisposition, which keeps me a prisoner; but on the return of the two Cardinals, which will take place on the 24th instant, I shall, without regard for my ailments, go and visit them in fulfilment of what I know to be my duty, and I will also acquaint the King and their lordships both with the letters of your Sublimity, dated the 11th ultimo, and likewise those of the 27th, received to-day.

There is no news of importance here, save a general report that the English ambassadors are on their way back from France, and that they will indubitably surrender Tournai, the delay having been caused by certain hostages who are to be given by King Francis to his Majesty here; and it seems that within the last few days, the affair has been adjusted.

I was assured lately that the King of England had remitted 25,000 ducats to Augsburg, destined for the Emperor;[1] intelligence which was subsequently confirmed to me through another channel. I cannot, however, vouch for this. From a good source also, I understand that his Catholic Highness has remitted 200,000 ducats to the Emperor, and the electors of the empire: I imagine it is for the election of his said Catholic Highness as King of the Romans; and that the money will be disbursed accordingly on his being proclaimed. * * *

[1] As already stated at p. 246, Maximilian died on the 12th of January, 1519, and we here see that to the very close of his career he was doomed to the pangs attached to penury; and even on his death-bed needed so paltry a sum as 25,000 ducats!

Lambeth, February 25, 1519.

Your Highness will have already heard of the Emperor's death, as also of the very sumptuous obsequies celebrated here. Moreover, of the arrival of the Flanders galleys at Hampton.[1] I now inform you that the demise of the Emperor has been held in small account: that the surrender of Tournai was made to the most Christian King, and that the gentlemen appointed as hostages have come hither, as also some of the English ambassadors, the rest being detained at Calais, by the very stormy weather which has prevailed.[2] These English gentlemen, who have returned, say that excessive honour was paid them by the King, and that they received great presents, but they don't choose to descend to particulars.

I perceive that these two Kings of England and France

are very united; and the French ambassador here has daily audience of Cardinal Wolsey, though I know not for what purpose, as said ambassador treats me with much more reserve than his predecessor ever did. I imagine because he is a person of no great experience, and does not believe in the closeness of the ties which exist between his most Christian Majesty and your Highness. I shall endeavour adroitly, if possible, to obtain information through some other channel.

An ambassador has arrived here from the Catholic King, a Fleming, by name Dom. Joan Jaghes, a person of very good acquirements and repute. I have already formed a friendship with him, and will perfect it in the course of the daily visits which I purpose making him. He told me that he was expecting a colleague here, another ambassador, a great personage. The Legate Campeggio assures me that this ambassador is come with a special power to approve the confederacy formed between France and England, in consequence of his predecessor having departed on bad terms with his Majesty here; for although he approved of all that had been done, nevertheless, as the matter was concluded, *ipso absente*, he did not choose to ratify it, unless all that had been settled were annulled, which these lords would not consent to. I, moreover, heard this from the lips of Cardinal Wolsey and the Bishop of Durham, who seemed very dissatisfied with him. * * *

[1] It would seem by this that the ambassador wrote a despatch between the 19th of January, 1519, and the 25th of February, which the secretary Sagudino omitted to copy: a similar act of carelessness has been noticed between the 8th of May, 1516, and the 30th of the same month. The plague offered some sort of apology for the *first* fault, but for this second we are at a loss to frame any excuse.

[2] The names of these hostages were De Morette, De Mouy, De la Meilleraye, Me Montpenat, De Mortemart, De Grimault, De Montmorency Rochepot, and De Hugueville.

Lambeth, March 10, 1519.

I have now to announce the arrival of all the English ambassadors, who are returned from France[1] with eight hostages, four of whom are men of a certain age, the other four being lads of seventeen years old and under, personages of condition; and as it was not believed that they were hostages, Cardinal Wolsey did not choose to receive them until the French ambassador had presented them in public to the King under the name of hostages, in which character they were accepted, but with every demonstration of honour and good-will.

After this ceremony, the Cardinal aforesaid sent the reverend Archbishop of Armagh[2] to the Spanish ambassador resident here, with a message, word for word, of the following tenor, and which was delivered in my hearing:—"*Quæ vos vidistis et audistis potestis scribere;*" and in confidence, the ambassador told me that this fashion of hostages seemed very strange to him, as it was not customary; and I answered him, that this had been done rather for the satisfaction of the English nation, which is not very well pleased with the surrender of Tournai, than from any other cause.

On the same day when this ceremony took place, as I was accompanying Cardinal Wolsey to York-house, he said to me, "What think you of this, Domine Orator? Did we not perform this act with honour to ourselves? so that everybody may be aware that this peace will last; and that there is a pledge for its durability; and those who doubted this fact, will now credit it." I lauded the wisdom of his right reverend lordship, in reply, and told him that he saw at a glance whatever should be done or left undone. The Spanish ambassador told me that his colleague, a German, a person of great authority, by name Count Horn, was to

make his entry into London to-day. It does not seem to me, however, that these lords have made any preparation for doing him much honour: in like manner, as no great demonstration is made by them in favour of the one now here, whereas every indication of good will is lavished on the French ambassador, and on the hostages likewise.

Since the announcement made in two of my letters to your Highness, concerning the determination of his Majesty here to cross the channel, for a conference with the King of France, I have not vouched farther for the fact, because there has been no little difficulty about the matter, and some diversity of opinion; but it is at length settled that the voyage across for the interview is to take place without fail, though report varies as to its period, yet will it certainly be effected either at the end of June or the commencement of July. His Majesty has formed a list, and sent it to France, containing the names of all who are to accompany him, they being the chief personages of the kingdom, in order that King Francis may come with an equal company; and I have been assured that the Lord Treasurer, the illustrious Duke of Norfolk, will remain here as Governor. This, indeed, is not decided, but it seems to be the general opinion. It is said that the King of England will reach the other side six or seven days before the King of France comes to the appointed place, so that he may be able to receive him in state as becoming; and from what I hear of the preparations in course, I apprehend it will be a very fine sight: the meeting will take place between Boulogne and Calais, and there is now a difficulty as to whether, after the reception and conference, they are to go back for the night, the one to Boulogne and the other to Calais, or sleep in tents in the country; and this point is not yet settled.

The English ambassadors who were in Spain[3] have at

length arrived, and I fancy they induced the mission of these ambassadors from the Catholic King to seal and ratify the confederacy, the original clauses of which I chose to inspect a second time, comparing them, both with the copy sent to Rome, and with the one forwarded to France, and they are of the tenor as already written by me. This I did for the sake of learning whether any alteration had taken place owing to the arrival of these Spanish ambassadors; for the one, already here, told me certain formalities were requisite before the confirmation of this alliance. After visiting his colleague, I will forthwith give information hereon to your Highness.

The English ambassadors lately returned from Spain, when dining the day before yesterday with the legates and other noblemen, mentioned having had much intercourse with the most noble Messer Francesco Cornaro[4] the Knight, extolling him to the utmost, both for prudence and magnificence, which was, moreover, confirmed by the French ambassador, insomuch that the whole court speaks of him in terms of the greatest honour.

Your Highness' galleys have commenced loading, and all the merchants are at Hampton for this purpose. I can do nothing farther in the business concerning the wines of Candia, until I receive from your Serenity the two acts for the imposition and repeal of the duty.[5] I beseech you to send them me immediately; for although my successor will be already on his way, it would be desirable for the documents to arrive here so betimes as to prevent any delay in my return.

[1] See *ante*, p. 236.
[2] See *ante*, p. 164.
[3] John Bourchier, Lord Berners, the translator of Froissart, and the Archbishop of Armagh. See *ante*, p. 165.
[4] A kinsman of Catharine Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus, ambassador

from Venice to King Charles of Spain, and who accompanied the Emperor to England, A.D. 1520. A portrait of this nobleman may be seen in the celebrated picture of the Cornaro family by Titian, now in Northumberland House.

[5] The application for these documents was made in conclusion of the ambassador's letter of February 25th, after mentioning a fruitless interview with Wolsey. A letter of the 26th, omitted likewise on account of the frequent recurrence of this subject, reports another attempt to reason with him. Wolsey had pretended to discredit the *extracts* from the two acts with which Giustinian had already been furnished, and hence the application for the documents *in extenso*.

Lambeth, March 17, 1519.

I have now to announce the arrival of an ambassador here from his Catholic Highness, in order to ratify the peace and league concluded between the Princes of Christendom; and yesterday being appointed for his public audience, all we ambassadors received an intimation from the King, which I accepted accordingly.

Sumptuous preparations had been made at the place appointed for his audience, a great number of the lords and prelates having been convened to this effect, including seventeen bishops not usually in attendance at the great court; and as his Holiness had sent a fresh commission to the Legates, in confirmation and approval of what had been done, it was therefore arranged that in virtue of this new commission, the two Cardinals were to come to the court as if newly sent by his Holiness aforesaid. They make their appearance in this fashion accordingly, being met by his Majesty and all the prelates, lords, and ambassadors, with all the ceremonies usually observed on a first arrival; and after holding a colloquy with the King concerning the business they had to transact, the Prothonotary Campeggio, the right reverend Legate's *son* or *brother*,[1] delivered a very

elegant oration in the name of his Holiness. In this address, he lauded the King of England to the skies, thanking him for the ardour and promptitude he had displayed towards the Christian expedition; and, alluding to the formidable power of Sultan Selim, and to the peril which threatened the whole of the Christian commonwealth, he urged his Majesty to realize his holy project, which confirmed and sanctioned the league and friendship formed between the princes therein named. According to the tenor of the discourse, the King of England may be styled the head of this alliance, rather than his Holiness, who has lavished every possible expression of honour upon him, somewhat to the disparagement and degradation, perhaps, of the Apostolic chair.

After this, one of the Spanish ambassadors made an oration, specifying the conditions in virtue of which a place had been reserved in said league for his sovereign, and thanking this King for having deigned to name him as one of the chief confederates, but making no mention soever, either of the Pope or of any of the others, just as if this admission had proceeded solely from the King of England. He said, in conclusion (to use his very words), that his Catholic Highness *requested* and *besought* his Majesty to be pleased to receive him as one of the number of said confederates; the ambassador and his colleague being the bearers of a commission to this effect, approving all that had been concluded, and requesting that the oaths usual at similar contracts might be taken, and that they might receive the copy of the aforesaid contract signed and ratified.

The magnifico Dom. Richard Pace, his Majesty's chief Secretary, made the reply, in which he qualified our Lord's Holiness, "tanquam *comitem!* confæderationis;" and to mitigate the arrogance of such an expression, he added,

"*Comitem*, et quod maxime optavit hic sacratissimus Rex *Principem* confæderationis!" He also praised his Holiness for having sent a commission to conclude and ratify this confederacy here in England, rather than at Rome in the presence of his Holiness; adding many other expressions, extolling the power of the King of England. In answer to the Spanish ambassadors, he said that his Majesty was glad to hear of the good disposition towards him of his Catholic Highness, whose thanks he accepted most lovingly, as from his very dear nephew; and with regard to his petition for acceptance, his Majesty was content to receive and include him in the list of the chief confederates, assuring him that the other points he had named would be replied to most favourably.

From this, your Highness may comprehend in how great repute the King of England stands with all the princes of Christendom, and that the principal author of all these proceedings is this right reverend Legate of York, whose sole aim is to procure incense for his King and himself. He will, in point of fact, make a sale of all these settlements and their appurtenances;[2] so that one cannot please him more than to style him the arbitrator of the affairs of Christendom, concerning which there are endless things to be said, better adapted to my "Report" than to insertion in my letters.[3]

The French ambassador did not seem too well pleased at such great repute being attached to his Majesty here; and when discussing other topics, has frequently inquired of me whether your Highness would approve of the most Christian King being Emperor. I told him in private, however, that the thing in the world you desired most intensely was to see his most Christian Majesty raised to this dignity, assigning various reasons to make him believe that such was the wish of your Excellency.

[1] From the abbreviation thus, "*f'lo. di qusto. Rmo. Legato,*" it is doubtful whether we ought to read *son* or *brother*. Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio did not enter the Church until after he became the father of two sons, and a widower. One of his sons, Giambatista, was Bishop of Majorca, and Alessandro Bishop of Bologna, and eventually Cardinal. It is probable that the prothonotary here alluded to by Giustinian was one of these two Churchmen, though it is *possible* that the person meant was the brother of the Legate, and not his son.

[2] This appears to be the literal meaning of what stands in the original as follows: "Qual non studia ad altro salvo che a procurar fumo a questa Maestá et a lui qual come é vero se vendirà tutte queste conclusione *cum* tutte le sue pertinentie, ita che non se li pò far," &c.

[3] Sebastian Giustinian made his report of England to the Venetian Senate on the 10th of October, 1519, and therein, as promised, gives a sketch of the character of Cardinal Wolsey.

Lambeth, March 22, 1519.

I have now been to visit the Spanish ambassadors, who received me very graciously, and in answer to my compliments expressed their satisfaction at your friendly disposition towards his Catholic Majesty. They besought you (to use their own words) to persevere therein, and not to seek war and dissension, assuring me, at the same time, of the amicable intentions of their sovereign. These words were uttered apparently from premeditation; and not *pro formâ*. As I remarked them, I fancied myself listening to the late ambassador of his Majesty aforesaid, who was here a year ago, and expressed himself precisely in the same terms, which, in reality, so far as I can comprehend, proceed from jealousy, lest at the instigation of the King of France, of whom Spain is very suspicious, your Excellency should declare yourself. I replied in words of peace, showing that your Excellency was anxious for the maintenance of the friendship which prevails between you and his Catholic Highness, and with this they appeared well satisfied.

On the morrow, which was the 20th instant, they went to Greenwich, whither we were all invited, and Cardinal Campeggio celebrated high mass in state, giving plenary indulgence to all present; after which, near the high altar, the two Legates, in the name of his Holiness, confirmed the league and friendship lately contracted, promising to observe all that he was bound to by the clauses, and in this manner did they join it, signing the clauses aforesaid, the King doing the like. The Spanish ambassadors then read the clause relating to their Catholic King, promising to conform to it in his name; and they also took the oath, as did his Majesty in the same case.

This ceremony was followed by the banquet: with his Majesty there sat the two Legates and Count Horn, the Spanish ambassador, whose colleague, however, and the French ambassador, and I myself, with other lords and prelates, were seated at another table. This congress, and, indeed, the whole day, was solemnized with much pomp; a visit being, moreover, paid to the most serene Queen, who in the presence of the King lavished great marks of good will on the ambassadors. This interview ended, we took our departure.

Subsequently, in the course of conversation with various persons, especially with the magnifico Dom. Richard Pace, he assured me that the conference between his Majesty and the King of France on the other side the channel may be expected to take place about the commencement or middle of July.

I afterwards paid a visit to the French ambassador, with whom I have held various colloquies; and in like manner, as on former occasions, he inquired of me whether your Excellency would be content that his most Christian King should be elected Emperor. As I did not perceive any

one near but my secretary, I assured him that you had nothing in the world more at heart than to see the imperial throne filled by his most Christian Majesty aforesaid, from which you anticipated marvellous effects as apparently promised by the endowments of so great a King, with much other language very expressive of such a tendency. When in company with Cardinal Campeggio, his right reverend lordship said to me, "Your Signory must be in great mental suspense about the election of this Emperor;" assuring me that the Diet was to assemble at Frankfort the fourth Sunday in Lent, and that it was a very momentous event, considering the power of the candidates. I told him you were neutral in this election, and did not interfere in any way, as you deemed all the competitors your friends, and hoped that, whichever of them might succeed, they would be the protectors of the Catholic faith, and maintain the peace and union of Christendom. On the following day, his son (or brother[1]) the Prothonotary said the like to me, but showing more openly that by reason of their power he did not approve of the election of *either* of the two Kings, and that it would be well to take the most serene King of Poland, who is an extremely able man, and violently opposed to the infidels in favour of Christ's faith.[2] I made a show, as I have said, of being neutral, it appearing to me expedient for the interests of your Excellency thus to do.

[1] The abbreviation is again the same as at p. 259, thus: "Questo instesso me disse el giorno sequente *suo f'lo.* el Ptonotario;" and so it yet remains doubtful whether this prothonotary was the son (figluiolo) or brother (fratello) of Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio.

[2] Sigismund of Poland, who had been elected king in the month of October, 1506, was engaged in this year 1519, in an attack on the Teutonic knights in Prussia, from whom he recovered some towns of which they had deprived him. By the letters written by the Venetian ambassador at the court of Leo X., from the death of Maximilian until the election of Charles V., it would appear that the King of Poland was

never mentioned at all as a candidate for the imperial crown; nor in the forty despatches penned by this diplomatist from the 23rd of January, 1519, to the 5th of July following (which last announces the election of Charles V.), is anything said of the pretensions of Henry VIII., although probably this momentous subject was more fully discussed at Rome than in any other capital of Europe. In a despatch dated 5th June, 1519, the Duke of Saxony and the Marquis of Brandenburg are spoken of as the rival candidates of Charles and Francis, but there is no corroboration of what Robertson says about Saxony having *refused* the crown in a most magnanimous manner, &c., &c., nor is it credible that he did any such thing.

In date of the 13th of March, 1519, the ambassador writes from Rome that the Pope was averse to the election of *either* of the two kings, and wished Francis I. to give his support to some third candidate; but at that time he would have preferred France to Spain, though between March and June various circumstances (amongst which the insolence of a French ambassador at Rome may be cited) induced a change in the opinions of his Holiness.

Lambeth, April 5, 1518.

The Spanish ambassadors, having departed this city, were met at Dover by letters both from their Catholic King and from Flanders, the precise contents of which are not known. One of these ambassadors consequently returned immediately with these despatches, and after seeing the Cardinal of York, was to have audience of the King. I fancy the affair is important, although with us the ambassador makes light of it. It is reported that they have news of the Duke of Guelders having made an attack in those parts; for this, however, I do not vouch, though it may also be conjectured, from the embargo laid on all vessels in Spain. These signs are not at all indicative of peace, but calculated, on the contrary, to frustrate all that has been done to effect it by the Cardinal of York.

Nothing further has been done about this King's voyage

across the channel, and the arrangement remains in the same state as already mentioned; should any fresh resolve be formed, my letters shall acquaint your Excellency with it immediately.

I am unable to write any news, for Cardinal Wolsey has been extremely occupied in taxing all these prelates and ecclesiastics for a certain pecuniary contribution which it is meant to levy on them, and which, I understand, will amount to a great sum, the Pope also having consented to this impost. I shall learn the business more in detail on obtaining the copy from his right reverend lordship, and your Sublimity shall be informed of the whole.

Lambeth, April 15, 1519.

* * * When visiting the French ambassador here, and discussing various matters, he assured me that these two most serene Kings *would* confer together in the month of July, although common report says nothing of this interview, just as if there had never been any question of it.

He tells me he is by no means certain of the reason for the return of the Spanish ambassador, but understands that it is caused by the preparations which the Duke of Guelders is said to be making, his Catholic Highness being desirous of support from England.

Concerning the affairs of the empire, he told me that his Sovereign would be favoured by the Pope, and by your Excellency, and by all the Swiss Cantons; and on my adroitly inquiring whether his Majesty here would be favourable to him, he said he appeared content that the empire should fall to the most Christian King, rather than to others;

but that the ambassador does not believe this, and is of opinion that this enterprise of France will receive neither favour nor disfavour from England.

In accordance with my duty, I write these things as they reach me, but my opinion is, that the French ambassador here has not much foundation for what he says. Should I be able through any other channel to obtain surer information, my despatches shall give your Signory immediate information.

———, *April* 29, 1519.

I received the missives of your Serenity, dated March 25th, with copies of the acts *curtailed*, and lacking their preambles and conclusions, and different from your letters written heretofore in this matter, so that I shall be unable to make any use of them.

But little has happened here worthy of notification, but in order not to leave your Serenity in expectation of my letters, I write these to announce the arrival of a fresh Spanish ambassador, by name Bartholomew, the steward of his Highness aforesaid. He came post in eight days, and has complained grievously to his Majesty here of the most Christian King; charging him with an attempt to extort the imperial crown from the electors of the empire by sheer violence and tyranny, and alleging that he is making warlike preparation; having on his side the Pope, your Signory, with a considerable force, the Florentines, the Genoese, and the Switzers. The King of England, he said, should beware of allowing the most Christian King to obtain a dignity which would render him irresistible; with much other

strong language of a general nature, which was repeated to the French ambassador, who tells me he made answer that it was better to obtain the empire magnanimously by force of arms, rather than by seduction and fraud. At the same time, he denied that his King meditated any violence.

All the lords here seem very much to lament this contention, and in my presence the lord Marquis[1] spoke to said French ambassador telling him part of these things, and evincing extreme regret thereat; and other personages, moreover, have complained to me of similar ambitious tactics, with regard to which I indeed ever make a show with this side, of being neutral and ignorant of these proceedings, though with the French ambassador I feign a wish for the success of his King. On my inquiring whether he would have favour and aid from his Majesty here, he told me the King of England had given him a favourable reply, appearing to be content; but that he, the ambassador, does not believe it, so that I am not of opinion that any succour or support will be extended from this quarter to the lofty projects of his most Christian Majesty. Everybody tells me that your Excellency favours this undertaking of his most Christian Majesty, and has made preparations to facilitate it, but I have no advice soever from the State; nor do I desire such for the mere sake of talking about it, but in order to accommodate myself as becoming to the variety of circumstances in which I am bound to act. * * *

Your Excellency's galleys sailed on the 19th instant, since which there have been strong breezes, so it is supposed that they have already crossed the Bay of Biscay, and entered the Mediterranean seas, which may God grant. They shipped as much as possible.

[1] The Marquis of Dorset. See note 1, *ante* p. 12.

Lambeth, May 6, 1519.

* * * I understand that his Majesty has written in discreet terms to the most Christian King to desist from hostilities, and to seek the empire by other means, and not by force, in corroboration of the newly-contracted peace. This seems to me reasonable, as the two Spanish ambassadors, at whose suit he apparently wrote this letter, have departed, and it was said at the time, that the last ambassador came on purpose to report the preparations making by the King of France, and to persuade his Majesty here to address him on the subject as aforesaid. There is no doubt but that neither the King here, nor any great personage of this realm, would wish his most Christian Majesty to obtain the imperial crown, and therefore he will receive no succour hence, either of men or money. This is also the opinion of the Legate Campeggio, who told me the Switzers were not going to favour the undertaking of the most Christian King, but, on the contrary, had written to him desiring he would desist from the attempt. His right reverend lordship added, moreover, that one of the Electors, whom King Francis boasts of having at his beck, has no intention of complying with his wishes.

Touching the conference between these two Kings, no symptoms soever are manifest: a reply of some sort was expected from his most Christian Majesty, as written by me, and it arrived; but it was not definitive, and they are now awaiting another express, on the arrival of which a consultation will be held, whether to meet or not.

For some days past the Cardinal of York has been indisposed, and he is much reduced by dysentery; owing to which I have been unable to visit him, as he received no one. I think, however, of calling on him to-morrow, and will pay him such compliment as I believe to be the intention of your Highness.

I this day received the State's missives of the 11th of April, with the news from Hungary, which I will communicate to his right reverend lordship, and to the Legate Campeggio, of whom may you at least deign to make mention in your letters by desiring that the intelligence they contain may be communicated to him, since it is not thought fit to write him thanks for his manifold services, and for the devotion borne by him to the name of your Highness, who will comprehend that as the dignity is new to him, he must feel flattered by such compliment.

Lambeth, May 11, 1516.

Whilst visiting the right reverend Legate Campeggio, and speaking about the contest for the Empire between the Kings of France and Spain, and discussing it in various forms, I inquired of his lordship how the King of England would act should these sovereigns come to blows, as they seem inclined to do. He answered me that they could not make war upon each other for the recovery of territory occupied by either side, as according to the articles of the fresh peace, which has been signed and sworn to, all are to retain their actual possessions, even if obtained by conquest, and should the original possessor attempt their recovery by force, the occupant is at liberty to demand subsidy from the confederates, who are bound, according to the articles, to afford him their support; for this reason, Cardinal Campeggio said he did not perceive how war could arise between these parties on account of territory. * * * This confederacy was held by the Catholic King; the King of England was inclined to abide by his obligations contracted through the confederacy,

that is to say, to give aid to the occupant. With regard indeed to the Empire, he said the King of England would in fact do nothing but observe neutrality, and write to each of the competitors, urging them to abstain from war. * * *

Yesterday, perceiving these lords to be unusually occupied with public business, and that Cardinal Wolsey, who has been grievously ill, went twice to Greenwich in three days, denying audience to Campeggio on two occasions, and receiving no one, I went to the magnifico the French ambassador, acquainting him with what I had heard about the intention of the King of England, in case France and Spain should come to blows. This announcement, which I made after enjoining the strictest silence, proved very agreeable to him. * * * I shall keep on the watch to learn the cause of these frequent cabinet councils, and when acquainted with it, my despatches shall give immediate advice thereof to your Serenity. I will also impart my knowledge to the French ambassador.

Whilst writing these present, three missives from the State were presented to me; the one a patent ratifying the confederacy; the other two indicating the mode of executing said ratification. The latter also enjoin my awaiting the magnifico my successor until the second of June, giving me instructions with regard to communicating your intention, if necessary.

Having read these despatches with my wonted respect, I shall abide most religiously by their contents, but must remark that I perceive your Serenity leaves it optional with me, as if it were a doubtful matter, whether I ought to make the communication to Cardinal Wolsey or not. Now the fact is, as I have informed the Signory, at least a hundred times, that it is necessary to address oneself to him about every

thing; and, were it a question of neglecting his Majesty or his right reverend lordship, the least injurious course would be to pass over the former. I shall, therefore, impart it to both, but first of all to the Cardinal, lest he resent the precedence conceded to his Majesty.

I see that your Highness doubts the erasure in the clauses of that paragraph which referred the disputes between your Sublimity and the Emperor to the Pope, the King of France, and his Majesty here. With regard to this likewise, I repeat what I vouched for in many of my despatches, namely, that this paragraph was inserted twice, and that each time I had it cancelled, so that the clauses merely include your Excellency as a party to the confederacy: it is only a few days since I read them at the dwelling of the Legate Campeggio, from whom I shall have the copy forthwith. I also expect this document from the Cardinal of York, and by the articles therein contained, your Serenity will perceive that I have not written you lies for the sake of extolling my own acts: my opinion being that to deceive one's sovereign, is an act worthy of the severest chastisement.

Lambeth, May 18, 1519.

Since my last of the 11th instant, which acquainted your Excellency with all that had occurred, it chanced that yesterday, the Magnifico Dom. Richard Pace, the royal secretary, departed on his way (as asserted by every one) to the Electors of the empire,[1] which news appearing to me of great moment, and being unable to see Cardinal Wolsey, I went to the Legate Campeggio to learn the cause of this mission,

which he declares he does not know for certain, not having had any interview with the right reverend of York for the last four days; but judging from the past, he says it is for the purpose of exhorting the electors to choose an Emperor suited to the need of Christendom, and not to allow themselves to be cajoled or overawed by any one.

I subsequently went to the magnifico the French ambassador, to learn something further in this matter, as he had been with Cardinal Wolsey on the preceding day, and he told me the like, adding, that he did not believe this to be the mission, but that it was rather to thwart the projects of his most Christian King, and he seems to entertain a very bad opinion indeed of the intentions of the entire English ministry.

The illustrious the lord Treasurer,[2] whom I went to visit on the day before, told me that his Majesty here has taken, and moreover is taking, steps to secure the freedom of this election, which he is of opinion will not fall on either of these two kings, but rather on one of the Princes of Germany, which seems to be the universal belief, and also the wish.

Within the last few days, his Majesty has made a very great change in the court here, dismissing four of his chief lords-in-waiting, who enjoyed extreme authority in this kingdom, and were the very soul of the King; he has likewise changed some other officials, replacing them by men of greater age and repute, a measure which is deemed of as vital importance as any that has taken place for many years. The King, indeed, has given employment, *extra Curiam*, to the parties dismissed; some at Calais, and some in other parts of the kingdom, assigning them titles and considerable appointments, which is a proof that this charge was not owing to any fault of theirs, though the true reason is

unknown. Having heard somewhat to this effect, I desired the Reverend Dom. Dionysius Memo[3] to investigate it thoroughly, and having heard the aforesaid, he came to Greenwich to make his report. Various causes are assigned for this proceeding: some maintain that it is owing to the affairs of France, some of these individuals having accompanied the ambassadors who went to ratify the peace, and, that they have either been discovered to be too partial to the King of France, or, that they have been suborned. Others assert that this stir was made because these persons had been the cause of his Majesty's incessant gambling, which has made him lose of late a treasure of gold;[4] and that on coming to himself, and resolving to lead a new life, he, of his own accord, removed these companions of his excesses: this is the opinion of the lord Treasurer.[5]

The French ambassador, on the other hand, and these gentlemen the hostages, consider that this took place either from suspicion about the affairs of France, or at the instigation of Cardinal Wolsey, who, perceiving the aforesaid to be so intimate with the King, that in the course of time they might have ousted him from the government, anticipated them, under pretence of their being youths of evil counsel, and intent on their own benefit, to the detriment, hurt, and discredit of his Majesty, which opinion I fully share. By this, said York will secure the King entirely to himself, extremely to the displeasure, I suspect, of all the grandees of the kingdom, from apprehension lest ere long they experience the same fate as has befallen these poor gentlemen. This opinion is grounded on the fact of the places of these individuals having been filled up by men of greater age, and perhaps of greater repute, *but* creatures of Cardinal Wolsey!

The magnifico the French ambassador assures me that he told his right reverend lordship that such a stir would

not have been tolerated at the French Court, even if countenanced by all the cardinals and chief lords of the kingdom. Wolsey's reply purported that the French followed their own fashion, and the English that of England.

Coupling this dismissal with the mission of the Ambassador, Pace, I consider it extremely important; but I shall not interfere or open my lips on the subject to the right reverend of York, although the illustrious the lord Treasurer urges me to do so, and wishes me, when speaking with the Cardinal, to laud all these proceedings; but I am not inclined to burden myself with such packs. Should his lordship address me on the subject, I shall laud every resolve formed by this most serene King and his government here, *in genere.*

It is universally believed that the interview between these two most serene sovereigns, which was to have taken place on the other side the channel, will be deferred, as, from what has taken place, may be readily conjectured.

[1] The reader will be surprised to perceive that Giustinian was not aware of the business on which Pace went to the Electors of Germany. On this point Hume writes, that Henry VIII., during the contest for the imperial throne, "was encouraged to put in his pretensions; but his minister, Pace, who was despatched to the Electors, found that he began to solicit too late, and that the votes of all these princes were already pre-engaged, either on the one side or the other."

[2] The Duke of Norfolk.

[3] The Venetian organist, of whom frequent mention has been made previously.

[4] In the report of England made by Giustinian to the Venetian Senate on the 10th of October, 1519, the ambassador alludes to the King's love of play, and says that he occasionally lost from 6,000 to 8,000 golden ducats in a day. See *ante*, p. 235.

[5] The following extracts from Hall explain this circumstance, which appears to have excited much curiosity, not unmixed with anxiety, at the English court. Under date of "The x yere of Kyng Henry the VIII.," he says: "Duryng this tyme remained in the French courte Nicholas Carew, Fraunces Brian, and diverse other of the young gentlemen of Englande, and thei with the Frenche Kyng roade daily disguysed through Paris throwyng egges, stones, and other foolishe trifles at the

people, whiche light demeanour of a Kyng was much discommended and gested at. They return to England and are all French in eating, drinking, and apparel, yea, and in French vices and bragges, so that all the estates of England were by them laughed at; the ladies and gentlewomen were dispraised, so that nothyng by them was praised but it were after the Frenche turne, whiche after turned them to displeasure as you shall here * * *

"The XI yere, Maie,—In whiche moneth the Kynge's counsaill secretly communed together of the Kynge's gentlenes and liberalitee to all persones: by the whiche thei perceived that certain young men in his privie chamber, not regardyng his estate nor degree, were so familier and homely with hym, and plaied suche light touches with hym that thei forgat themselfes."

The King agrees to dismiss them, and to reform his Court, and Hall continues—

"Then the Kynge's counsaill caused the Lorde Chamberlein to cal before them Carew (and another who yet liveth, and therfore shall not at this tyme be named), with diverse other also of the privy chamber whiche had been in the Frenche courte, and banished them the court for diverse consideracions, laiyng nothyng perticulerly to their charges. And thei that had offices wer commaunded to go to their offices; which discharge out of the courte greved sore the hartes of these young menne which were called the Kynge's minions. Then was there foure sad and auncient knightes, put into the Kynge's privie chamber, whose names wer Sir Richard Wingfield, Sir Richard Jernyngham, Sir Richard Weston, and Sir William Kyngston: and diverse officers wer changed in all places.

"Then Sir John Pechy was made deputie of Calis, and Sir Richarde Wingfield therof discharged, and Nicholas Carew made Capitain of Rice banke, and commaunded to go thether, which was sore to him displeasant. These young minions which was (*sic*) thus severed from the Kyng, had been in Fraunce, and so highly praised the Frenche Kyng and his court, that in a maner thei thought litle of the Kyng and his court in comparison of the other, thei wer so high in love with the Frenche courte, wherefore their fall was litle moved emong wise men."

London, June 9, 1519.

* * * The negotiations between France and his Majesty here proceed very closely and secretly, the French ambassador having frequent audiences of Cardinal Wolsey, and likewise of the King, at the court, but from said

ambassador I am unable to elicit anything. He tells me, there are certain differences about damages inflicted and received on the part of the English and French; this I do not believe, but should there be anything important, if unable to learn it elsewhere, I hope for information from the Legate Campeggio.

Immediately on the arrival of my successor, whom I know to have been staying in Paris for the purpose of attending the christening of the King's son,[1] we will together attend on Cardinal Wolsey in execution of your Serenity's commissions, and subsequently go to his Majesty, who is in the country. After these ceremonies, and visiting a few of the grandees, I shall immediately set out on my way back to my country, which I so long to revisit, and to pay my respects to your Highness.

[1] Henry II., the successor of Francis I.

London, June 9, 1519.

After having written those tied up herewith, I learnt that the magnifico Dom. Richard Pace (whom I mentioned to your Serenity in my former despatches as having been sent by his Majesty here to the Electors of the Empire) is gone to the Switzers: the cause of this mission will be very intelligible to your Highness, without any comments of mine.

I have been informed that the proposed interview between these two most serene sovereigns, will not take place this year; also, that here, in the royal mint, gold nobles are being coined with great alacrity, which is very unusual. I

have thought fit to notify these three facts to your Highness, who will estimate them as to your wisdom shall seem fit.

London, June 21, 1519.

Since my last, nothing new has taken place, save the desired arrival of the most noble my successor, whom I went to meet yesterday, together with our merchants here, and good part of the attendants of the Legate Campeggio, who allows no opportunity of honouring your Highness to escape him. Two of these privy councillors also came, the oné a layman and the other an ecclesiastic, personages of good repute, with a suitable number of horses, so that it was a stately riding.

These royal delegates used very flattering language expressive of his Majesty's good will towards your Highness, which was reciprocated by the aforesaid magnifico Surian, so that they remained extremely satisfied with his magnificence; and as the King is at a distance of about thirty miles hence, it has been arranged for us to go to-morrow to the Court. The magnifico my successor will then have audience, and we will do as enjoined us in his commission; after which, as arranged by the right reverend of York, I, Giustinian, shall take leave of his Majesty.

London, June 28, 1519.

Having gone to Windsor, a place distant some twenty-five miles hence, on the day of the Corpus Domini, in the morning, we entered the presence of his Majesty, to whom,

before mass, in his royal audience hall in the presence of the Legate Campeggio and the French ambassador, together with a great number of barons, I, Surian, after presenting myself and kissing his hand, consigned the letters of credence from your Highness.

After his Majesty had perused my credentials in presence of his court, he recalled me to him, giving me very gracious and honourable greeting, and caused me to be told through one of the secretaries, that according to the tenor of your Serenity's letters, his Majesty took note of two particulars, first, that I was to make certain statements to him in the name of your Signory; which, as the hour for going to mass was at hand, he determined on hearing later in the day; and secondly, that your Serenity recalled the most noble my predecessor, appointing me in his stead.

Although, he continued, this recall was irksome to him, since during the sojourn as ambassador here of his magnificence, he had had experience of his integrity, wisdom, and address, coupled with singular erudition, owing to which most worthy endowments his Majesty said he had ever loved him like a father; yet, as such was the will of your Serenity, and as it gratified the ambassador aforesaid, he was very willing that he should return home, especially being aware that his return was accompanied by an increase of honour, seeing that his magnificence had been appointed Councillor of Venice.[1] Hereon, he dilated in terms of honour and singular praise of his magnificence, adding, that he was very content to have me about him in lieu of the most noble my predecessor as ambassador from your Serenity, making me an offer, for all my future negotiations, of his good will and loving offices in favour of our renowned republic; and having delivered himself thus, without awaiting my rejoinder, the King together with ourselves went in

procession (everybody being placed according to his rank), accompanying the most holy body of Christ to the church. On the conclusion of the mass, we returned to the above-mentioned hall, and his Majesty having withdrawn to a window, called me to him, whereupon I made my statement, containing the due congratulations on this most auspicious league, and on the relationship contracted between France and England. I also made such offers as suitable, adhering throughout to my commission, accompanying each particular therein specified with such fitting language as deemed by me apposite; and having previously determined thus with the most noble my predecessor, I returned due thanks to his Majesty for having included our illustrious Republic in the confederacy, urging the despatch of the ratification, as already requested by the most noble my predecessor, which, although late, was still in time, as I, to whom this commission[2] was given, together with his magnificence, had been unable to reach England sooner, owing to various untoward hindrances.

His Majesty, having thanked your Serenity for the loving expressions I had addressed to him, and which he knew proceeded from the excellent will you bore him, called the most noble my predecessor to witness how fully these sentiments were reciprocated by himself. With regard, forsooth, to the ratification, he said that most willingly should documentary evidence thereof be given us by the right reverend of York, to whom this matter had been delegated; and finally he terminated his discourse by abundant praise of the most noble my predecessor aforesaid, again styling him "father," and again I rejoined in such suitable terms as my ability dictated.

After this ceremony, I, Giustinian, took leave of his Majesty, thanking him, in the first place, for the favour

invariably shown by him towards your Sublimity; and, in conclusion, for the praise bestowed on me, made such offers as I considered due and becoming.

On the morrow, we presented ourselves to the most serene Queen, to whom I, Surian, after paying the compliments usual at similar interviews, and presenting my credentials, notified in detail all that was enjoined me by your Sublimity, not omitting a single item contained in my commission. Her Majesty received me graciously, replying in loving language, thanking your Sublimity, and making you the most ample offers, ending her discourse by praise of my most noble predecessor, she likewise giving him the epithet of "father." Of her Majesty also, I, Giustinian, took leave, with such compliments as I considered due.

We then returned to London, where we will pay the remaining visits, commencing with the Cardinal of York; and of all our proceedings, subsequent despatches shall give especial notice to your Serenity.

SEBAST. JUST., Eques.
ANT. SURIANUS, Doct. Eques. } *Oratores.*

[1] Giustinian had acknowledged this appointment under date September 24, 1518.

[2] At p. viii., of Mr. Holmes's preface to the Trevisan Report of England, translated by Miss Sneyd, is the following note of the commission here alluded to by Giustinian and Surian:—"1519: 15 April, Ind. 7. Sebastiano Giustiniani and Antonio Suriano, commissioned by Lionardo Loredano to give the consent of the Signory to be included in the treaty between Henry and Francis. *Their credentials are printed in Rymer.* Suriano was afterwards sent as ambassador to Rome."

London, June 30, 1519.

We have at length entered the presence of this right reverend Cardinal of York, it not having been conceded us to do so earlier; and I, Surian, having presented my creden-

tials to him in becoming form, stated what was enjoined me by your Serenity, commencing with congratulations on the recent league and its happy corroboration by the betrothal, and telling him that it was all his doing; adding thanks for the inclusion in said confederacy of our illustrious Republic, and requesting the despatch of the ratification as demanded within the period assigned, by the most noble my predecessor. I also recommended the affairs of our merchants, omitting no particular contained in my commission, accompanying the whole with suitable offers, and in the best form of words I could.

His right reverend lordship having first given me the most loving and gracious greeting possible, said in reply, that he lamented the recall of the most noble my predecessor, subjecting him as it did to the loss of such a personage, so highly gifted; expatiating much on his endowments, saying, that this his regret was, however, mitigated by the fact of his magnificence returning home with increase of honour, exhorting me to inform your Serenity, that in all his proceedings here, the most noble my predecessor had borne himself excellently, to the universal satisfaction of this whole kingdom, an announcement which he said the King himself also intended making to your Highness. He added, that he congratulated himself on my coming in lieu of his magnificence, declaring I was very agreeable to him, and tendering me his good services in all my future negotiations. He returned abundant thanks for the compliments I had paid him in your Serenity's name, vowing that he had always favoured the interests of the most illustrious Republic, and would, moreover, continue so to do for the future, saying in continuation, that the public and authentic writing of ratification would be made out in time for the departure of my predecessor, who might take it with him. Finally, he descended to the affairs

of the merchants, deciding the matter of the customs of the wines, so amply treated by the most noble my predecessor, thus: in the first place, he remarked that, since your Serenity repealed the duty, imposed by you on the wines of Candia, this kingdom had not taken off the whole duty levied here, but merely reduced it from four ducats to one noble, which proved that these customs had been settled thus by compromise; especially as your Serenity for many years had not said one word hereon (admitting, however, that no documentary evidence to this effect existed in the Royal Chancery); and coming to the conclusion, that, as it was desirable that both this question about the wines, and many others (mentioning in particular that of the "*deceitful cloth*"),[1] should be henceforth settled by authentic decrees in writing: we must, therefore, intimate to your Serenity to be pleased (should you be of this opinion) to empower me, Surian, to negotiate and conclude articles of agreement in this matter, whereby navigation and trade here, might be carried on without any hindrance; adding especially with regard to the wines, that for the removal of all difficulty in that matter, a promise must be obtained from the State in some form or other, to the effect that the original duty laid on by your Highness in Candia, and which is now repealed, shall never come into force again, at any future period.

I, most serene Prince, rejoined becomingly to all the points mentioned by the Cardinal; and with regard to the wines, he was told that the promise demanded by his lordship seemed superfluous, since should this King repeal the customs entirely, in accordance with justice, they could always be put on again, were the duties in Candia replaced on their former footing, and thus, either party found itself mutually guaranteed without any further form of promise. So ended our conference on this matter; and in my "Re-

port," I, Sebastian, shall freely explain my view of the case to your Serenity, who will form such resolve, as to your wisdom may seem fit.

[1] See *ante*, p. 46, *et seq.*

London, July 9, 1519.

Our last were in date of the 30th ultimo, by the courier *John Gobbo*,[1] since when, on the 6th instant, through the most noble your Excellency's ambassador in France, we, with our wonted respect, received two sets of missives from the State, written on the 3rd and 5th June, together with those addressed to the Legate Campeggio, and the summaries of Turkish news, in execution of which letters, what we have done hitherto is this :—We went, in the first place, to Cardinal Wolsey, to whom we imparted the aforesaid news from Turkey, for which his right reverend lordship thanked your Sublimity becomingly; but we have hitherto been unable to do the like by the King, as he is in the country at a distance of some forty miles hence, enjoying his usual sporting amusements.

On the day before yesterday we went to visit the right reverend Legate Campeggio, to whom I, Surian, presented your Serenity's letters, which were really very opportune, accompanying them with such expressions as my ability furnished, endeavouring to confirm the good disposition which he seems to entertain towards the interests of the illustrious Republic, assuring him of the excellent will of your Serenity in favour of his right reverend lordship, and how earnestly you wish to do whatever may redound to his

honour and satisfaction. He returned our compliments, most serene Prince, most lovingly, thanking your Serenity for the affectionate letters and demonstration whereof he had been made the object, alluding to the devotion of his late father[2] to your Sublimity, from whom he roundly affirmed that all the weal and exaltation of his entire family had proceeded, as lately that of his right reverend lordship himself, in virtue of the erudition and repute he had acquired under the shadow of the Signory, for which reason he styled himself the eternal debtor of your Highness;[3] adding that should the opportunity ever present itself to him, the State will know by experience that he is (to use his very own words) your Serenity's good servant, expressions which we did not fail to reciprocate becomingly.

We went lately to visit the most illustrious Dukes of Buckingham[4] and Norfolk, to each of whom, I, Surian, paid becoming compliments on behalf of our Signory, which they assuredly reciprocated very well and lovingly. Hitherto I have not met with any one whose outward bearing (their internal bias I leave to God) indicate aught but goodwill towards the State, and especially towards this magnifico my predecessor, who is, in truth, greatly loved by every one, on account of the very worthy parts and excellent conduct of his magnificence in this kingdom.

[1] The translator has been unable to discover whether this courier, *John Gobbo*, was the ancestor of Shylock's servant, Launcelot; but he was certainly much employed by the Venetian cabinet in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and he was frequently the bearer of despatches between Rome and Venice during the embassy of Marco Minio, from whose portfolio some extracts have been made in the foregoing pages. That representatives of the Gobbo family yet existed in the Venetian territories in the year 1846, is proved by the obituary in the *Venice Gazette*, date January 6, 1846, which records the demise of one *Angelo de' Gobbi, a clown*; and the recurrence of this name, as connected with Venice, both in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, confirms our

belief that Shakspeare derived many of his details of Venetian life from Venetians established in England, rather than from Italian novelists, who occasionally disregard precision in patronymics.

[2] Giovanni Campeggio, one of the most famous jurisconsults of his age. See *ante*, p. 203.

[3] Lorenzo Campeggio, like his father, had been professor of jurisprudence in the University of Padua, where he was probably educated, and he is here alluding, as we judge, to these two facts, which recall the words of Lucentio in the "Taming of the Shrew," when he announces having come

"To see fair Padua, nursery of arts,"

and there to

"Institute
A course of learning, and ingenious studies."—Act I. sc. 1.

[4] The same who was beheaded A.D. 1521, May 17, and who is mentioned by Shakspeare as

"Bounteous Buckingham,
The mirror of all courtesy."—King Henry VIII., Act. II. sc. 1.

London, July 9, 1519.

Through the ambassador of my Lady Margaret, resident with his Majesty here, news has been received of the Catholic King's having been raised to the imperial throne: intelligence which has really proved unexpected to many, who rather hoped the choice might fall on some third German candidate, instead of on France or Spain. May our Lord God, whose judgments are inscrutable, grant that this election prove for the benefit of the Christian Republic![1]

Amongst the rest of those to whom this news was unexpected, is the magnifico the French ambasador, who has in truth taken it much to heart; and when I, Surian, went to visit him without my predecessor (his magnificence being indisposed), he spoke at great length on this subject, coming to the conclusion that it was more necessary than ever to keep the King of England in friendship with his most

Christian Majesty, who, being well linked with your Sublimity, will have small cause to fear any stir that this new Emperor my choose to make in Italy by coming armed to take the crown there. Should the King of England, on the other hand, not be his friend, the affair would be very doubtful, by reason of the diversion which he might make in this quarter. Said ambassador, however, appears not to be sure of this King, both because of the national character of the English, who are hostile to the French, and also on account of the most serene Queen, who is a Spaniard, adding that my Lady Margaret likewise sows discord incessantly; he is apprehensive, in short, lest in the direction of Flanders, at least, some movement be made against his most Christian King, possibly with some secret subsidy from his Majesty here, although he added that the Cardinal of York appeared to be in favour of France, and not to have been much pleased with this election of the King of Spain, saying many other things to me besides.

I, most serene Prince, assured him that your Serenity would never swerve from the sincere and very close alliance existing between you and the most Christian King, and that with faith inviolate you meant ever to share the fortunes of his most Chirstian Majesty. You kept ambassadors here, I said, and had lately sent me hither, chiefly for the sake of maintaining this good friendship between France and England, being well aware that this was necessary for the mutual weal, as sagely remarked to me also by his magnificence; saying, in short, that for these reasons I should act here not less as ambassador from King Francis, than from your Sublimity, exhorting his lordship to act in concert with me in all our proceedings here, as he vowed was his intention, and that on account moreover of the goodwill contracted with me especially of late, he said he

chose us to commune together day and night like good brothers and cordial friends, so that from our union every one might judge how closely his most Christian King is linked with your Highness, an invitation, most serene Prince, which I shall accept most heartily, doing my utmost not to fail in any respect.

On the evening before last, the envoy here of my Lady Margaret having made preparation for bonfires, illuminations, and other marks of rejoicing for the election of the new Emperor, was hindered by the city authorities, which has caused much dissatisfaction. It seems that yesterday the ambassador complained of this to Cardinal Wolsey, and also publicly to the council, which evinced much regret hereat, apologising and laying the whole blame on the mayor and corporation, whom they accused of acting rashly and without the knowledge of the King and Cardinal, and the rest of the council. In proof of this they also made a demonstration by imprisoning in the Tower as usual certain officials, announcing their intention to hang them by the neck as a warning to others. [2]

[1] From what follows, it would appear that the news of the election of Charles V. reached London through the ambassador of his aunt, the Governess of the Low Countries, on the 7th July 1519. The record by Hall is in these terms: "This yere in the moneth of June was elected to be Emperor Charles Kyng of Castell, and nephew to the Quene, by the whole assent of the Electors of the Empire: Although the Frenche Kyng sent his Great Master to cause hym to be elected to the high Maiestie of the Empire; yet his ambassador and great master of his houshold called Gouſier Lord of Boisy, and brother to Willyam Gouffier lorde Bonevet, Admirall of Fraunce, whiche was ambassador in Englande the last yere, as you have hard, did not so his message that it toke any effect.

"The Kyng whiche had sent Doctor Pace his secretary for the avauncement of his nephewe the Kyng of Castell to the dignite imperiall, because he had the duchy of Ostrik and many other seigniories in Almain, was very joyous of this eleccion, and caused a solempne masse to be song at Paules the vii daie of July: at whiche masse was

present the Cardinall Campeius, the Cardinall of Yorke, the Dukes of Buckyngham, of Norfolk and Suffolk, with the ambassadors of Spain, *Fraunce*, *Venice*, and Scotlande. And after masse was doen the quier sang *Te Deum*, and then all the lordes departed to Baynardes Castle to dinner, and that night wer solempne fiers made through London, and greate plenty of wine geven by Italiens, Duchmen, and Spaniards for these newes."

According to a despatch of Marco Minio, the Venetian ambassador at Rome (No. 339), the election of Charles V. was first communicated to Leo. X. through letters from Germany, dated the 28th June, which reached him on the 5th July; and the despatch of Minio, as also the following one, No. 340, give some interesting details of the effect produced by this intelligence in the Eternal City.

[2] This outrage induced or contributed to the mission of Norroy to Lady Margaret; for in the Harleian Catalogue, vol. i. p. 112, there is the following entry:—

"283-5. Instructyons geven by the Kyng's Highnes to his trusty and welbeloved servaunte Thomas William, alias Norrey Kynge of Armes; contayning suche matters as he one the Kinge's behalfe shall declare and shewe to the Lady Margaret, Archeduches and Dowagere of Savoye; the yeare of our Lord God 1519, in the 11th yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lord Kinge Henry the VIII. touching the congratulacion of the electyone of his nephewe Charles King of Castelle, to be Kynge of Romaynes. *And of a broylle in London against hir ambassadour. With an addition made to the same by Cardinal Wolsey.*"

London, July 15, 1519.

Last Saturday, his Majesty being absent, the Cardinal of York and these lords sent in the King's name to invite both of us ambassadors to betake ourselves on the morrow to the Cathedral Church, to assist at the ceremony which it was intended celebrating here, for the election of the new King of the Romans, the future Emperor. * * *

On Sunday, accordingly, having been taken as usual by two leading cavaliers of the royal bed-chamber to the appointed place, we found there the two Cardinals of York and Campeggio, the ambassador of his Catholic Majesty, and all the chief lords of this kingdom.

The French ambassador did not choose to attend, saying he had as yet received no advice soever from his King announcing this election. The ceremony was as follows: all being assembled in the church in their appointed places, the Te Deum was chaunted in state (*solemnemente*), after which Cardinal Wolsey gave the benediction. Last of all, was proclaimed by two heralds, the unanimous election of the Catholic King as King of the Romans, future Emperor, which done, everybody returned home. The refusal of the French ambassador to assist at this solemnity has surprised and offended many, of which we were fully assured no later than yesterday by the Legate Campeggio, with whom we dined.

On the day before yesterday, when visiting the most illustrious Duke of Buckingham, the ambassador here from the Catholic King likewise made his appearance, and thanked both of us for the compliment, and for the goodwill demonstrated by our presence at this ceremony. He told us he had written the fact to his Catholic King, and to the Lady Margaret, launching forth in loving language, which we also reciprocated well in such becoming form, as (considering the nature of the times) we deemed suited to the interests of your Sublimity.

London, July 15, 1519.

Having dined yesterday with the Legate Campeggio, discussing moreover many and various topics with him during a long while, we consider it our duty to acquaint your Highness with what we heard worthy of your notice. He told us in the first p'ace that the Electors had decided upon thirty

clauses to be adhered to by the new King of the Romans the future Emperor, the copy of which he said had not yet been sent him, though he was indeed expecting it. He promised to communicate its contents to us when it arrived, adding that hitherto only three of the clauses had been notified to him: first, that the new King of the Romans be bound to fix his residence in Germany; secondly, that he be not at liberty to undertake any expedition of any sort soever, without the express consent of the Electors; thirdly, that none of the ministers and councillors of the late Emperor Maximilian may have a voice in the government and council of the new King of the Romans, the future Emperor, and he said that this third clause had been inserted, for the especial purpose of ousting the Cardinal of Gurk.[1]

He next discussed the condition of the Catholic King, alluding to his youth and delicate health,[2] owing to which he was fitter to be governed than to govern, and touching this particular he said the government was in the hands of my lord de Chièvres, a personage who is quite in the French interests. Finally, he came to the conclusion that he could not imagine any expedition would emanate at this present from his lordship, especially against France and your Sublimity, in corroboration of which he asserted that his Catholic Majesty was straitened for money, being *new* also to his Spanish subjects, where the allegiance of the population was not yet well established; added to which, he said his Majesty had expended much on this election, and given heavy security for the money.

Cardinal Campeggio declared also, that the new Emperor would receive no aid soever from England, as the King here and the English ministry are desirous of peace, nor will they, for any consideration, infringe the new league formed with France, strengthened as such is, by the betrothal. He said, moreover, that this country had been

sated by the war waged of late years with France, seeing that it had cost them a great amount of treasure, and on our hinting at the subsidy, which even now it is rumoured they purpose transmitting privily to Flanders to be employed against France, as mentioned to your Sublimity in our former despatches, he made answer, declaring that according to his opinion, nothing of the sort would be done. This suspicion, he said, proceeded from the French ambassador resident here, whom he declared to be in error, assuring us in general terms that England would not act against France either openly or secretly. The entire discourse of his right reverend lordship terminated in ample offers of service proportioned to his means, in favour of our illustrious republic, which we returned in such fitting language as our abilities suggested.

[1] See note to despatch of May 26, 1517.

[2] The words translated *delicate health*, stand thus in the original: "Discorse poi el stato del Re Catholico commemorando la età jovenile sua *la poca prosperità*," &c., &c. In Pasini's Dictionary, the word *prosperità* is rendered by "*valida corporis habitudo*." We subjoin some contemporary notices of the youth of Charles V., as an addition to the scanty remains gleaned from Sandoval and Peter Martyr by Robertson, relating to that period of his career which by no class of readers will ever be deemed the least interesting.

The voyage of the young King from Flanders to Spain is several times alluded to in the course of the foregoing despatches; and we may here remark that it was rendered necessary by the state of his affairs, which were then anything but prosperous, whether in Spain, Naples, or Sicily. The ambassador Minio, in a despatch from Rome, dated the 17th May 1517, writes, that when discussing the projected voyage of the young King with the Pope, Leo X. remarked, "Reason would dictate the voyage (although, if taken, all are agreed that his death will speedily follow), as prompted by two causes: one being that the Cardinal of Toledo, to whom all seem to defer, is ill, and upwards of seventy-five years old, and, should he die, affairs would be in greater confusion than ever; and the other is, that the people of Valladolid and Burgos have an understanding together, and despatch emissaries conjointly to the other places, and say that they mean to appoint delegates to his Catholic Majesty; so that the state is thrown into great confusion by his absence."

Then, on the 7th September 1517, Minio informs the Council of Ten, that the Cardinal de' Medici had told him the Sicilians were sending a deputation to offer their island to the Pope, withdrawing their allegiance from Spain; and the Cardinal added, that his Holiness was at liberty to accept the offer, as the entire kingdom of Naples was a papal fief. To meet such difficulties, the court of Rome did not consider the young King adequate; and on the 16th September, Minio writes in cypher the opinion entertained by Francesco d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara and the husband of Vittoria Colonna, in terms which are translated as follows:— "The Marquis of Pescara and D. Theodore Boccali arrived lately at Rome from the Catholic King, to whom they went on private errands of their own, and they profess to have obtained what they required of his Majesty, who, according to their account, has no sort of ability, and is in leading-strings. On the three occasions when they were in his presence, they never heard him utter a single word, all matters being regulated by his councillors, the chief of whom is M. de Chièvres, who does everything; and one day expressed himself in very strong terms against the Emperor, showing that he feared nothing soever."

On the other hand, to prove how contemporaries disagree in their character of the youth of Charles V., in a former despatch to the Council of Ten, dated Rome, July 22, 1517, Minio writes, "The Spanish ambassadors here have had letters from their Catholic King, informing them that he was going into Spain immediately; and that with regard to the Duke of Guelders, he had taken such steps as would prevent his making much progress, and that he was well aware who those were who had sold, betrayed, and sacrificed him; but that on arriving in Spain, he would so provide for his need as to prove that he was not a *lad*." And in the Diaries of Sanuto, there is a curious anecdote in date of October 30, 1514, showing how the young Prince had even then resented being treated as a "lad," and threatened the members of his privy council at the early age of fourteen, because they connived at the French marriage of Maria Tudor, to whom he had been affianced ever since the year 1509. The Marquis of Pescara mistook silence for stupidity; and although, as natural at the age of seventeen, Charles of Castile may have preferred a little fun and frolic with Jacques de Limbourg to the discussion of politics with M. de Chièvres, he certainly had a will of his own when only fourteen years old, as proved by the circumstance above alluded to.

Not a word is said by Robertson or his authorities concerning this display of authority by Charles of Burgundy on losing his bride in 1514; nor do we find any note of his delicate health here recorded by Cardinal Campeggio, who, after mentioning the physical ailments of the new King of the Romans, infers thence "Che el ditto Re era più apto ad esser gubernato che a gubernar."

London, July 21, 1519.

By our last, your Highness will have heard all that had chanced down to their date, including the communications made to us by the Legate Campeggio, and from that time, to this present, I, Giustinian, have been incessant in my endeavours to get despatched by Cardinal Wolsey.

The quantity of business on hand, prevented his lordship from receiving us until yesterday, when he consigned the royal letters for conveyance by me, Giustinian, whom he charged (after many most honourable expressions concerning your Excellency, lauding your justice, prudence, and polity) to recommend him strongly to the State, promising to be her good supporter, and to keep this King her friend, as he ever has been. We thanked the Cardinal for this his good disposition, and for the good offices used by him since the arrival in this kingdom of me, Giustinian, of the which your Highness, I said, would never be unmindful, or chary in reciprocating every act proceeding either from the King and this realm, or from his lordship individually. He next discussed the affairs of the Princes of Christendom, between whom, he said, he had toiled to contract peace and confederacy, which he meant, moreover, to maintain; and although a certain power took the election of this new Emperor amiss, yet had he so contrived hitherto, that this very Sovereign *feigned* satisfaction, dissembling all regret on this account, in such wise that he assured us no din of arms would arise in consequence of this election, since, according to the articles of the confederacy, his Majesty here was bound to support whichever side found itself attacked, so that all would keep within their boundaries.

We praised his right reverend lordship for the exertions made by him to preserve the peace and union between the

Christian powers, both for their own sakes, and also on account of Sultan Selim, who, should he perceive the entire Christian commonwealth steering one steady and united course, would not dare to offer it provocation.

While on this topic, we took the opportunity of making the announcement enjoined us, assuring him that although your Highness is now silent about the Sultan, and temporizes with him, owing to the trade and the vicinity of our borders, nevertheless, were we to perceive the Christian powers united, and ready for an expedition, your Signory would, as has ever been your wont, not fail to do your duty. In reply to this, Cardinal Wolsey lauded your Excellency vastly, and blamed the Pope for hastening this undertaking, without considering that, in consequence of the past wars, all the Christian powers were drained of treasure, and that it would be requisite for them to accumulate as much as they could, so as to be enabled to bear the burden of the war; and to this effect he was endeavouring that his Majesty might add as much as possible to the treasures inherited from his father. He exhorted your Excellency to adopt a similar policy, so that all might be ready to take advantage of any opportunity offered by the enemy.

This conversation being ended, I, Giustinian, in the act of taking leave of his lordship, and recommending to him the affairs of our nation, induced him to repeat his resolve concerning the customs on the wines of Candia, so as not to have occasion to hold out greater hopes than he warranted, nor yet despair of what we might promise ourselves. He said that he was anxious to satisfy your Excellency and his most serene King, and that we should endeavour to obtain a power for me, Surian, to treat this matter, the rights of which either party must avail itself of to the utmost. His lordship promised to abide by justice, saying also that the

Signory should permit him to promise on her behalf, that in case this new duty be repealed, the State will not again lay on the duty of four ducats in Candia, adding, however, that we were not to imagine that by these words he meant to say he would repeal the wine-customs aforesaid. *Item*, that at the same time, I should be authorized to negotiate all the other matters affecting our nation—specifying the difficulties with regard to the exportation of the wools, of the "deceitful cloths," about bringing Venetian halfpence[1] into this kingdom, a thing which is yet prohibited—regulating all these particulars, so that difficulties might no longer arise on any score. As we were apprehensive that this was being done with a view to alter the laws and ancient immunities in force with regard to our nation here, we told him your Excellency would accede to this willingly, provided no innovation be effected in the ancient usages and commercial relations hitherto observed; to which his lordship made answer, that he did not mean to alter either law or usage, nor deteriorate the interests of our nation, but rather to extend and ameliorate them, so as to keep your Signory the good friend and confederate of this kingdom, and with this we took leave of Cardinal Wolsey, who addressed me, Giustinian, in terms as bland and loving as could possibly be desired.

[1] The word translated by *halfpence*, stands in the original *marcheti*. In Boerio's Venetian Dictionary, *marchèto* is stated to be a small copper coin, almost as large as a penny, which was current in the days of the Republic before the last coinage of pence; and so in Venice, even at the close of the last century, the words *marcheto* and *soldo* (literally penny) were synonymous. We, however, translate *halfpence*, and not *pence*, because in acts of parliament passed in the years 1409, 1411, and 1415, concerning the currency, there is a prohibition against the circulation of galley halfpence and not galley pence: there can be no doubt but the galleys which introduced this coin were those of the Venetians, and the act of 1415 also prohibits the money called *suskin* and *dotkin*, a corruption of the Venetian words *sessino* and *daottino*, signifying a sixteenth and an eighth, fractional parts of a larger coin. See Introduction, p. x.

London, July 26, 1519.

The most Christian King being anxious that the interview between himself and his Majesty here (and which it had been settled some months ago was to take place on neutral ground between Boulogne and Calais, though subsequently postponed, owing to the canvass for the empire, and other causes well known to your Serenity), should at length be effected, perhaps with a view thus to ascertain the bias of England, has lately made his ambassador resident here again propose this matter, which was discussed in the first place by Cardinal Wolsey, to whom King Francis moreover wrote very warm and loving letters, to consolidate the love and goodwill borne him by the Cardinal.

His most Christian Majesty aforesaid is, in short, desirous for the King of England to consent to the meeting taking place next August; and the French ambassador has given me to understand that the Cardinal answered him with assurances in the first place of the goodwill borne towards the most Christian King by his Majesty, who would never swerve from the league and relationship he had contracted, vowing to the ambassador that he himself was equally well affected towards France. The Cardinal added, that as he had been chief author of this league and connection, he was bound in duty and honour to seeks its maintenance with every effort and with all diligence. With regard to the interview, he said he would communicate the whole to the King, who was still in the country at a distance of twenty-five miles from London, and that a speedy answer would be given. It was the opinion of the Cardinal, however, that this meeting could not be held next month, as requested by the most Christian King, as his Majesty here had made no preparations for ships

and many other requisites, whether for the passage across the Channel, or for the interview itself. He recommended, therefore, it should be delayed until next May, coming to the conclusion that he fancied this most serene King would also be of a similar opinion.

The French ambassador, who acquainted us with everything, is also convinced that he shall receive the like reply from his Majesty, as this Cardinal is King, nor does his Majesty depart in the least from the opinion and counsel of his lordship.

To-morrow, I, Giustinian, shall, in God's name, depart on my way to the feet of your Excellency, *gratiæ cujus*, *&c.*

SEBAST. GIUSTINIAN, Eques.,
ANTON. SURIAN, D. et Eques., } *Oratores.*

NICOLAUS SAGUDINUS, Secretarius,

Fideliter Exemplavit.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

In the despatch of October 25, 1518, *ante*, p. 236, mention is made of the four ambassadors destined for the French court, and their departure from London is recorded at p. 238. Under date of February 25, 1519, *ante*, p. 251, it is stated that they were received with great honour by the King of France, but no particulars are given. As all notices of our early diplomatists and statesmen, and of the scenes in which they bore a part, are interesting from their rarity, the following details are now added.

From the despatches of the Venetian ambassador at the French court, it appears that the embassy mentioned by Giustinian entered Paris on 8th of December 1518, but were not met (as the Admiral Bonnivet had been on coming into London), because it was not customary so to do in France. The English horse had dwindled from the 600, mentioned in the above despatch, to 200. Francis I. came into Paris in state on the 11th, and on the morrow, the English ambassadors had their public audience; the King being on his throne in the richest possible array, in the midst of all the princes and nobility of France, including the King of Navarre, the Legate Bibiena, the Cardinals of Boissi, Bourges, Vendôme, and Aracæli, as narrated in a rare "broadside," which tells how Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely, made an oration which was answered by the Chancellor. On the following morning the King went to Notre-Dâme, with the ambassadors and all his court, when mass was performed by the Cardinal Boissi, the benediction being given by the Cardinal Legate Bibiena; after which, the King and the English envoys proceeded to the high altar, and swore to the clauses of the peace, and signed them. The ambassadors then dined with the King alone in the Bishop's palace, the only other guest being the Cardinal Legate; and in the evening they supped with the Duke of

Bourbon, who banqueted them most magnificently, the tables being crowded with ladies as well as gentlemen.

On the next day, Sir Thomas Dockwra and his colleagues went to visit the Queen, whom they found in company with the King's mother, Louise of Savoy, and after the usual compliments, the company were amused by viewing a sort of carousal, looking down from the windows of the Palace des Tournelles on the quadrangle beneath, where a number of the royal pages, mounted on the King's war-horses, charged up and down the lists which had been prepared for the joust, and shivered a few short spears. On the morning of the 16th of December, the ambassadors attended mass with the Queen, who swore to the marriage, as proxy for the Dauphin, and then went and dined with the Duke d'Alençon, the first husband of Margaret, sister of Francis I., and who, on the death of the Duke of Alençon, married the King of Navarre. It is not stated whether the Duchess assisted at the banquet, but her presence would have added an interest to these details, if but for the sake of Shakspeare, who makes Cardinal Wolsey choose her as a mate for Henry VIII., in preference to Anna Boleyn, thus—

> "It shall be to the Duchess of Alenson,
> The French King's sister, he shall marry her.
> Anne Bullen!—no, I'll no Anne Bullens for him."

In short, both the King and all the French nobility treated the embassy with the greatest cordiality, Francis I. roaming with his guests arm-in-arm over the royal residences, and masqueing and visiting the ladies in their company, though as no names are given, it remains doubtful whether Sir Thomas Dockwra participated in these gallantries. On the 17th and 18th of December, King Francis gave a grand hunt. On Sunday the 19th, there was a royal banquet, and on Monday the 20th, the jousts commenced, details which are contained in the despatches of the Venetian ambassador at the French court, whose secretary, Hironimo da Canal, also writes from Paris, in date of the 17th December as follows:—

"My last were written on the 11th, and on that evening the most Christian King came into the town accompanied by all his gentlemen and guards and court in great state, and went and lodged at the palace (subsequently Le Palais de Justice), and not at the place he usually inhabits (Palais de Tournelles). On the morrow, after dinner, he gave

public audience to the English ambassadors in a handsome hall, with tapestry all round; the ceiling being powdered with lilies. In this hall there was a stage, raised three steps from the floor, taking up half the hall, and at the extremity of this platform, in the centre, was a tribunal with an ascent of three steps, and there stood a chair covered with cloth of gold, surmounted by an ample canopy of gold brocade with a raised pile, which fell in folds all round, the three steps being covered with violet-coloured velvet, powdered with lilies. On this chair the most Christian King was seated, having a cushion of cloth of gold at his feet. His Majesty was dressed in a robe of cloth of silver, with a raised pile, and figured with very beautiful flowers, the lining being of Spanish heron's feathers, which are much used here, and very expensive; and his doublet was of very costly cloth of gold: he had no crown on his head, or anything but his usual cloth cap. At his Majesty's right hand, on the floor below the raised tribunal, was the right reverend Legate Santa Maria in Porticu, seated on a chair covered with gold brocade, over which was a canopy, likewise of cloth of gold, but not so ample as the King's. Beside his right reverend lordship was the King of Navarre, on another chair, also covered with cloth of gold, and along the platform on the same side, there sat in succession the Dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, the Duke of Ferrara, Monsieur de S. Pol, the brother of Monsieur de Vendôme, the Prince de Vendôme, and the son of the German Duke de Lininburg. On the left hand side were the Cardinals Boissi, Bourges, Vendôme, and Aracæli, seated on a bench, and after them in succession came the ambassadors, namely, the Papal Nuncio, Spain, Venice, and Florence; and then, at a little distance, there was the magnifico the Chancellor (Antoine Duprat), and a crowd of bishops in their rochets. Behind the King's chair and thereabouts, stood the Lord Steward (Gouffier de Boissi), and his brother the Admiral (Bonnivet), and Monsieur de Rothelin, and Monsieur de L'Escu, with many other great personages, dressed for the most part in cloth of gold, and, in short, there was not a single one who wore any material less costly than silk. On this same left hand side, in the corner, a small platform had been raised, from whence, behind blinds, the ceremony was viewed by the Queen, by the most illustrious Madame Louise of Savoy, his Majesty's mother, by his sister, Madame d'Alençon, and by Madame de Nemours. At the other end of the hall, there was another platform, which extended its whole breadth, and held all the ladies of the court. Shortly after all were seated, the four English

ambassadors made their appearance, namely, the Lord Chamberlain, the Bishop of Ely, my Lord of St. John's, of the order of Rhodes, and the Captain of Guisnes, having been escorted from their dwelling by Monsieur de Vendôme, the Bishop of Toulouse, the Great Bastard of Savoy, and Monsieur de Chatillon, who accompanied them to the platform. At the doors of the hall outside, the King's archers were drawn up; and within, there were the 200 gentlemen with their battle axes, who cleared the way.

"When the ambassadors reached the middle of the platform, and after they had made the due obeisance, the King rose from his throne, and descended the steps, and embraced each of them very graciously with his usual affability, and they presented the letters of credence to his Majesty, who then resumed his seat, and caused the ambassadors likewise to be seated in front of him, on a bench across the platform. The Lord Chamberlain was dressed in a vest of crimson satin, lined with sables, and there was a richly jewelled pendant in his cap. The Bishop wore his rochet. My Lord of St. John's had a vest of black satin, and that of the Captain of Guisnes was of cloth of gold, lined with sables. Near the ambassadors, but behind them, and also on either side, were some twenty English gentlemen, superbly dressed in vests of cloth of gold, with pendants on their bonnets, and chains round their necks and waists, and I even saw one with a girdle, loaded with jewels of immense value. So soon as the ambassadors were seated, the King called the magnifico the Grand Chancellor, and gave him the letters, which were read in a low tone, and on their conclusion, his Majesty desired him to tell the ambassadors to state the object of their mission, which the Chancellor did in Latin, whereupon the Bishop of Ely recited an oration, which being ended, the King again called the magnifico the Chancellor, charging him to reply; and on returning to his seat, he answered becomingly in Latin, and at the close of the discourse the ambassadors rose, and the King again came down from his throne, and discoursed a while familiarly with them; he also, before dismissing them, embraced all their gentlemen, in acknowledgment of a similar compliment paid by the King of England to the French courtiers at Greenwich, and thus did the audience end.

"Then on the 14th, his most Christian Majesty came to the church of Notre-Dâme, accompanied by the whole court and the barons, and behind him followed the four English ambassadors, all of whom took their places, the King kneeling on cloth of gold, with a cushion under

him, his kneeling desk being surmounted by a dais of cloth of gold, the sides being of silver brocade. His Majesty was dressed in a cap of gold tissue, slashed all over with knots, and the lining was of silver brocade; his doublet being of the richest cloth of gold. The ambassadors were in pompous array; and all the English gentlemen wore most massive gold chains; but, in short, the whole court abounded with gold and silver, and brocade, both plain and with a raised pile, and also with silk, offering a most gorgeous spectacle. The Cardinal Boissi chaunted a high mass of the Holy Ghost, after which the ambassadors approached the high altar, as did the King likewise, and in the presence of all, swore to observe the articles agreed to in England, ratifying them with his sign manual, and then placing the Legate on his right hand, and the Lord Chamberlain on his left, he and the other ambassadors went to dine with the Bishop of Paris, who gave them a stately banquet, served solely on gold plate. The supper given them by Monsieur de Bourbon was equally sumptuous, and they were yet at table after midnight, so that the King lavishes all possible caresses on these English men.

"On the 16th, the ambassadors went to visit the Queen, who gave them her consent to the marriage of the Dauphin to their King's daughter.

"Yesterday his Majesty went boar and stag hunting, and took a number of these English gentlemen with him to amuse them: he is expected to return this evening; and on Sunday gives a banquet, which will be most superb. Then, on Monday, the jousts will commence; and of what I shall see and hear I will give special notice, as I have done by these present."

The account of the banquet is given as follows, in a despatch from the ambassador Antonio Giustinian, dated Paris, September 23, 1518:—

"After my last of the 17th, the jousting commenced, and yesterday the banquet was given in great pomp and magnificence at a place called the Bastille, where a temporary wooden building was erected on a square, a very large hall being formed there, decorated with many ornaments and illuminated with a huge blaze of light. Many ladies were present, dressed in the Italian fashion, and various companies of masquers very richly arrayed in sundry costumes, and apparel of cloths of gold and silver and of silk. After supper, the King, and the Princes, and captains, and gentlemen, disguised themselves according to their rank and age, as an additional mark of rejoicing; and even Messieurs de

Roval and de Montmorency, who are each seventy years old, wore vizors. The right reverend Legate assisted at the entertainment, together with the other four Cardinals in ordinary, as also the ambassadors, of whom, however, I was the only one present besides the Englishmen, because Spain and Florence are indisposed; nor would they give a place to the Nuncio as *ambassador*, because of the presence of the Legate. The chief table was in the shape of a horseshoe, on a lofty stage raised three or four steps from the ground; the King sat at the head, having his sister the Duchess of Alençon on his left hand, and the Legate on his right; and then, on either side, ladies and gentlemen were seated alternately, the princes of the blood, however, and the Duke of Ferrara and the cardinals and the ambassadors, alone taking place at this table. The rest of the guests were below the platform at other tables, but ranged alternately as aforesaid; many of the ladies being dressed in the Italian fashion, and many in that of France. The Queen and Madame Louise were in the corridor near the platform, from whence they viewed the whole sight, and the feast lasted for about two hours, and after midnight the collation was served by ladies dressed in the Italian fashion.

"Despite the entertainments during all this time, the English ambassadors have not failed going every day to the palace for the despatch of their business; and this very day the King took another oath in private to certain detached clauses which are kept secret, and relate to mutual obligations, the Legate alone assisting at this oath, to render it more valid, the King of England having done the like in the presence of the Cardinal Legate of York. It is not yet known when the ambassadors will depart," &c.

Another account (contained in the Diaries of Sanuto) of the banquet given in honour of Lord Worcester and Sir Thomas Docwra and their colleagues, is of the following tenor:—

"On the 22nd of December, the banquet was held in a place called the Bastille, which is a small fortress surrounded by very high walls and turrets, and a moat, constructed of yore as a bulwark for the city, and in its centre is a large space, which was squared and floored with timber, three galleries being raised all round, one above the other, for the accommodation of a multitude of spectators, the whole being covered in with an awning of blue canvass well waxed, so that although it rained hard during the entertainment, only a few drops got through. This canvas was carried down to the galleries, and all powdered with gilt stars and signs, and celestial planets painted, to represent the heavens, and about

the hall a number of mottoes were suspended in French and Latin. Beneath the galleries, there hung white and tawny cloth in alternate stripes, these being the colours of his most Christian Majesty, and the whole floor was carpeted in like manner. A most immense number of torches were placed in sconces all round, and likewise in the centre in pendent chandeliers of three or four tiers, each of which held from twelve to sixteen torches, each torch weighing three pounds, throwing such a marvellous blaze of light on the starry ceiling, as to rival the sun.

In the four corners of this place there were four cupboards, one in each corner, set out with a vast number of very rich vases of gold and silver: then one ascended four steps to a platform, which had a gradual ascent, the entire platform being almost the size of the apartment, the front being formed by columns, but with a void which gave room for three persons abreast to ascend the platform. The floor of the platform was carpeted with the same colours as the hall, and benches were placed all round, and in lieu of hangings there was gold brocade.

Besides the ceiling described above, which covered the whole place, the platform was overhung by a bower, lattice-wise, of box and ivy and other evergreens, roses and flowers being suspended from beneath; and across the platform at the extremity where the King had to take his seat, was an ample dais of cloth of gold with a tester which came down to the ground: under the dais were two chairs covered with cloth of gold, on one of which the King sat at table, and on the other, his sister, the Duchess of Alençon. The tables were placed at the extremity of the platform, and down the sides, the guests being seated inside in the following order: first, as aforesaid, the King, with his sister on his left hand; to his right, on the bench, the Cardinal Legate, by whose side was the Countess Borromeo, the daughter of Messer Galeazo Visconti; and after her came the magnifico the Lord Chamberlain, the chief of the English ambassadors; then Madame *the Vidame*, the daughter of the most illustrious the Lord Steward; and at her side was the Cardinal de Boissi; then came Madame the wife of the Admiral Bonnivet, and beside her was my Lord of St. Johns, another of the English ambassadors, and then came the other daughter of the aforesaid magnifico Visconti; next, were the Cardinals de Bourges and Vendôme, and the Captain of Guisnes, the third English ambassador; then came the Cardinal Aracæli and the Venetian ambassador, and a lady, and also between each of the aforesaid, in the same order as already described, there sat a lady; nor were there any other ambassadors, because Spain

and Florence were indisposed, and the Nuncio did not come, because owing to the presence of the Legate there was no place for him as ambassador. On the King's left hand, beside the Duchess of Alençon, there sat the Bishop of Ely, the second of the English ambassadors, at whose side was Madame de Nemours; then came Monsieur d'Alençon, followed by Madame de Chateaubriand, beside Monsieur de Vendôme, between whom and the Duke of Ferrara, sat another lady; the Prince de Vendôme, who was the next gentleman, having also a lady on each side of him.

"On the floor, below the platform, there were two tables extending the whole length of the place, filled inside and out with the gentlemen of the English embassy, and many other French gentlemen, who were all seated, alternately with ladies. The company danced to the sound of trumpets and fifes, until the third hour of the night, and amongst those ladies there were some thirty dressed in the Italian fashion, with dresses all of silk, of damask and satin, of various colours, slashed with gold and silver, some with flowers, some with letters, some with one device and some with another, making a very fine show, and they all wore caps on their heads. Then supper commenced, which lasted about two hours, a profusion of viands of every sort of game being served in nine courses, each of which contained great varieties, all on dishes of gold and silver, and each course was announced by a flourish of trumpets, and they came as far as the foot of the platform, being followed by the captains of the bowmen, with six (followers) in pairs; then came the heralds, in advance of the seneschals of the King's household, who preceded the most illustrious the Lord Steward with his staff in his hand.

"The supper being ended, a company of about twenty masquers made their appearance, dressed in doublets of white velvet striped with gold; their caps, hose, shoes, and feathers, being white, and these were all young men. They were followed by another company dressed in long mantles of black satin, reaching to the ground, lined with white satin, slashed at the bottom and in front, and at the sides, where they were open, with silver muslin of more than a quarter's breadth, and over their shoulders they had broad chains, formed of plates of gold and silver, with false white hair on their heads, and hoods of black satin, not very large, and masks with white beards: these were my Lord Steward, my lord the Bastard of Savoy, Monsieur de la Tremouille, Monsieur de la Palice, Messieurs de l'Escu and St. Même, and others, fourteen in all,

and they made a fine show and presented themselves with great gravity: beneath their mantles they wore doublets of cloth of gold and silver, with raised piles in various fashions.

"Another company likewise came, all dressed in black velvet, with capes in the French fashion of the same material, as were their doublets, hose, caps, &c.; the whole costume being slashed with white puffs, and the edges of the capes were embroidered with various devices. A third company consisted of four individuals in long flowing robes of black velvet, powdered all over with gold letters. Then there was another company, also dressed in long gowns, with 'tall stockings'" (compare King Henry VIII, act i., scene 6, for the term "tall stockings"), "'short bolstered breeches' (*canoni*), and wide sleeves in checquers, one half of black and violet coloured velvet, and the other half of cloth of silver. Then came the King in a long gown, fitting close, both behind and before, like Christ's robe, of white satin, embroidered all over in gold, with certain compasses and dials, concerning which, various interpretations were given. Besides the foregoing, there were many other masquers, in various costumes, the one handsomer than the other, so motley that it is impossible to detail them; but it may suffice to say that there was nothing but gold and silver and silk.

"The King and the others abovementioned danced as much as they each liked, and then a collation of sugared and other confections was served by the ladies dressed in the Italian fashion, the chief of whom were the daughters of the magnifico Messer Galeazo Visconti; and the dancing continued even after the collation, but by degrees the company dispersed, and long after midnight the entertainment was at an end. The Queen and Madame Louise stayed the whole time viewing the sight, from one of the galleries near the King's dais; her Majesty being sumptuously dressed with a necklace of innumerable very large pearls, in which sundry very valuable jewels were set. The entertainment was really superb and pompous, and one of the finest ever given in France."

A third account in Sanuto's Diaries, of the entertainments given to Sir Thomas Docwra and his colleagues, is written by one of the attendants of Don Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, the husband of Lucrezia Borgia, and runs thus:—

"December 23, 1518, in Paris.—There was a fine tournament, the King and twenty-four aids all dressed alike being on one side, and Monsieur de S. Pol, with as many more, on the other, in a different

costume, each side being very richly clad, and they fought with very bright swords with no edge, using them scimitar-wise. Having rested a while after fighting singly, they then ran a general tilt all together, which was a fine sight. Then in the evening towards sunset, on the site of this joust, which had been held at a place called the Bastille, where sumptuous preparations had been made, from twenty-four to thirty young ladies made their appearance, all richly dressed in the Italian fashion, in divers colours, with caps on their heads, some being married and some unmarried; and they were dressed by the daughter of Monseigneur Visconti, who was with them; their dresses indeed being rather low in the boddice (*un pocho scolatti gli sui panni havendo le gorgiera come havevano*), and they danced with those lords and barons in the Italian fashion; and then at the second hour of the night the tables were placed for about 250 persons.

The site was approached by a very wide and long street nearly the same distance as from the Castle to the house of the Lord Prospero (query, at Naples), all covered over, scallop-wise, with box and laurel and other ornaments, and decorated with armorial bearings of the King and his nobles. Then through a very narrow corridor, one entered the castle, and in the court-yard a very handsome temporary building had been erected, the size of the large quadrangle of Castel-nuovo there at Naples, between the gate and the tilt-yard. The floor was all planked and carpeted with the King's colours, and the covering of the building was of blue cloth with an infinite number of gold balls, and very lofty, with three tiers of balconies all round for the spectators, that they might not hinder the entertainment. At one end of the building was a platform raised three steps, and about ten yards wide, with a row of columns, where the damsels appointed to dance stood. The hangings were of gold brocade, to the height of two breadths; evergreens being suspended from above, mixed with many artificial ornaments, such as roses and other flowers, which produced a handsome effect; and in the centre was a dais of cloth of gold, under which the King was to sit at supper with the English ambassadors. There were no additional decorations on the lowest balcony, from whence the Queen and Madame Louise viewed the entertainment. Around the building, the celestial signs were affixed, cut in pasteboard of a fair size, and there were 600 torches, all of white wax and very fine. There were four cupboards all set out with new vases, two at each end of the apartment, two being piled with gold and two with silver, of which not a single vessel

was touched. When all the guests had arrived, the doors were closed, and the . . . . . commenced playing their instruments and dancing with the King and those lords, the Queen and Madame Louise looking on from their balcony the whole time. Her Majesty was dressed in a very rich gown of cloth of gold, lined with very beautiful sables, and a quantity of jewels on her head and neck, and round her waist, so that she quite sparkled.

"After dancing two dances, the tables were placed on the platform for the King, to whom the water was presented for his hands; after which his Majesty seated himself on a chair covered with cloth of gold, under a dais of the same material, with a raised pile. On his right hand, sat his sister the Duchess of Alençon, then the Cardinal Legate Sta. Maria in Porticu, then the four English ambassadors, between each of whom damsels were seated. On the King's left hand, was one called the daughter of Messer Visconti, namely, the Countess wife of Count Frederic Borromeo, then came a Bishop, one of the English ambassadors; then Monsieur d'Alençon; then Monsieur de Vendôme; then my Duke (Ferrara), and then two knights of the order of S. Michael; the damsels who divided the gentlemen being in number twenty.

"The Cardinal of Aracæli also came, making meagre fare, because it was Advent, and was waited on by one of his monks, the Cardinal Boissi being likewise present.

"Whilst the grandees were seating themselves, the music struck up, in the Italian fashion, and then proceeded to the kitchen, and the viands commenced appearing on very large dishes, some of which emitted fire and flames, making a fine sight, being brought thus: first, came eight trumpeters playing; then the archers of the body guard, with the Captain Gabriel in front, dressed in a doublet all covered with massive gold embroidery, a large chain round his neck, and a wand in his hand; he was followed by five heralds, dressed as such in their royal tabards, who preceded the eight seneschals in ordinary of the King's household; after whom came my lord steward, in a very rich vest of cloth of gold, lined with sables, and wearing the collar of the order of S. Michael round his neck: the King's viands were borne by twenty-four pages of honour, in gold dishes; and then came some 200 archers with the rest of the viands for the tables below, namely, those not on the platform. In this array, they went twice to the kitchen, the heralds making their obeisance to the King, who gave them two large silver dishes, which is said to be the usual custom, whenever the Kings of

France banquet in state. At the close of the repast, the tables were removed instantaneously, without noise, and those who did not dance went aloft into the galleries to view the entertainment, and the music commenced; the archers of the guard alone remaining in the space below the platform; and forthwith twelve masquers appeared, dressed in white velvet, with tunics like Zimares, the sides being of gold thread, with white plumes and white shoes, and white swords at their sides, in the most gallant trim possible.

"Then came six other masquers dressed in mantles of tawny satin, in the apostolic fashion, the trains being of beaten silver, and underneath they wore doublets to match the mantles, lined with white satin. These were followed by twelve more, also masqued, dressed in four capes of black velvet in the French fashion, lined with white satin, embroidered with silver spangles, all slashed, each wearing a black cap, in some of which was a large pearl in a very handsome jewelled setting; and they had very beautiful swords at their sides, with black velvet sheaths, and plumes on their heads, with large gold chains for girdles; and they danced in single and double and treble couples until the eighth hour of the night, always in the Italian fashion. The Captain Gabriel then took all the ladies dressed in the Italian costume into a chamber, putting into the hands of each of them a silver dish full of confections, and these they carried in pairs for collation to the ambassadors and all the others on the platform; and it was a very beautiful sight, and thus did the entertainment end. This entertainment, together with the presents given to the ambassadors, has cost his Majesty upwards of 450,000 crowns."

APPENDIX II.

COMPENDIUM OF THE "REPORT" OF THE MOST NOBLE MESSER SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, PROCURATOR AND KNIGHT, CONCERNING HIS LEGATION IN ENGLAND, DELIVERED IN THE SENATE ON THE 10th OCTOBER, 1519.

This MS. report, the original of which exists in the library of Count Agostino Sagredo at Venice, has never yet been printed in full, either in Italian or any other language. As stated in the heading, it was made to the Senate on the 10th of October, 1519, but as the MS. gives its author the title of Procurator, which he did not obtain until 1540, it may be supposed that the compendium was written out from his own notes, about that period. Its contents, at any rate, are *for the most part* corroborated by his correspondence, and some trifling inaccuracies in the Sagredo transcript have been corrected by the translator, through the Diaries of Marin Sanuto. It runs thus:—

That he considered that he had two important announcements to make to the Senate, the first being a narrative of his negotiations during a mission of fifty-seven months, which he should deliver, omitting whatever was superfluous and unimportant; without, however, passing over any thing bearing the stamp of novelty and variety. Secondly, it behoved him to return infinite thanks for the honours conferred on him by the State; saying, that of yore, by the law "*Post Limina*," it was lawful for any one who had been a long while abroad on public service, to receive indemnity for losses incurred during his absence, a law which he himself had no occasion to enforce, as not only had he recovered all losses, but had, moreover, received so much from their Lordships, that it far exceeded any demand he could have made, wherefore he returned endless thanks, and having nothing but

his life to offer, he promised never to spare it for the service of the State, to whom he felt himself eternally obliged.[1]

That on the 10th of January 1515 he left Venice, and went straight to Lyons, where he found Messer Piero Pasqualigo, with whom he proceeded to Paris, where they arrived on the 15th of March. They remained there some days before obtaining audience, because the king chose in the first place to despatch the ambassador of the Archduke,[2] on whose departure he gave them a most gracious audience, advancing six or seven paces to meet them, cap in hand. They then seated themselves, the princes of the blood being on the King's right hand, and on his left were other lords and barons, whilst around the throne there stood the King of Navarre, the son of the late King Frederick, and some other grandees, in whose presence Messer Sebastian delivered the oration, to which, by order of his Majesty, as loving and gracious a reply was made as could possibly be desired.

They then both left Paris, and the Magnifico Messer Piero Pasqualigo went into Flanders,[3] he, Giustinian, crossing over to England. He did not obtain audience immediately, because the king chose to delay giving it him until St. George's Day, when he celebrates the festival of that order, of which his Majesty is the Abbot, and of which the late Emperor Maximilian was Prior. This order numbers twenty-four members, including kings, princes, and noblemen. His Majesty was dressed in a mantle of purple velvet, lined with white damask, with a hood of miniver, and the device of the order on his hose;[4] he was surrounded by all the other dukes and barons, the right rev. Cardinal of York being also present, and before them all, Messer Sebastian delivered his oration, which received a becoming reply.

Words cannot express how irksome his legation proved to him, not from the transaction of much business, but because of the enmity between France and England when he entered on it; and by reason of the close alliance between the Signory and the French crown, owing to which both King and Cardinal and others, had the worst possible opinion of us: *vocabant nos piscatores, raptores sine fide*,[5] and this on account of the infraction of the league with Spain, styling us *tyrannos*, and using every possible ignominious epithet. The ambassador's chief object, therefore, was to justify all our proceedings, and to prove to every one that their impressions were false, and he succeeded so, that they are now very well satisfied.

Another arduous task performed by him on this legation was ren-

dered necessary thus. His Majesty and the Cardinal were anxious to make peace between the State and Maximilian, and to detach us from the King of France, so he had need of extreme caution; and matters remained in this form until England and France made peace, of which many persons consider our ambassador to have been the primary cause; for one day when in a chamber with the King,[6] his Majesty showed him the Princess, then two years old (and who is now three and a half), in her nurse's arms; the ambassador drew near, and knelt, and kissed her hand, for that alone is kissed by any duke or noble of the land, let his degree be what it may; nor does any one see her without doffing his bonnet, and making obeisance to her. The King then said to him, "*Domine orator! per Deum immortalem ista puella nunquam plorat*," and the ambassador replied, "Sacred Majesty, the reason is that her destiny does not move her to tears; she will even become Queen of France." These words pleased the King vastly, and a few days later,[7] when the ambassador, conferring with Cardinal Wolsey, announced the receipt of letters from his colleague in France, Messer Antonio Giustinian, expressing a wish on behalf of King Francis, for peace and union with England; the Cardinal rejoined, "If this is true, France has a son, and our King has a daughter, were it wished they might be affianced." The ambassador then wrote these words to Messer Antonio Giustinian at the French court, and several letters passed between them on the subject. Finally Villeroy went over to England on behalf of the King of France, and commenced negotiating peace by means of this marriage, and the surrender of Tournai; so that at length the French ambassadors came, namely the Bishop of Paris, Admiral Bonivet, and Francois de Rochechouart, Seigneur de Champ-denier, who, after much discussion, concluded perpetual peace between the two crowns, including almost all the potentates of Christendom, both parties designating the most illustrious Signory.

They stipulated the marriage of the Princess Mary to the most illustrious the Dauphin, with a dower of ,* agreeing for the surrender of Tournai, *per nomine dotis*, with the obligation *ex parte Franciæ tenendi suos obsides apud majestatem Angliæ, et hoc in casu*, that the marriage lack effect, to secure the restitution of Tournai to England.

* As this blank, and also some others which follow, are found in the original MS., the translator has not thought it right to fill them up, but in most cases the sense of the passage is made sufficiently clear by the context.

With regard to the inclusion of the Signory in this treaty, our ambassador experienced very great difficulty in preventing Cardinal Wolsey from inserting a clause, to the effect that all the disputes between the Emperor Maximilian and the Signory were to be referred for arbitration to his Holiness and the Kings of England and France, but at length contrived to effect the nomination unconditionally, *ab utroque latere*, being moreover much aided in this matter by the French ambassadors, most especially by the Bishop of Paris and Admiral Bonivet, the same who was a prisoner here during the war, and he appears very devoted to the interests of this State.

The right rev. Cardinal Campeggio, who was Apostolic Legate there in England, likewise demonstrated by all his actions, the greatest possible affection and favour towards the Signory.

The ambassador brought with him an authenticated copy of the articles of the peace.

CONCERNING THE PERSONAL QUALITIES OF HIS MAJESTY.

And first of all, his Majesty is twenty-nine years old, and extremely handsome; nature could not have done more for him; he is much handsomer than any other sovereign in Christendom, a great deal handsomer than the King of France; very fair, and his whole frame admirably proportioned. On hearing that Francis I. wore a beard, he allowed his own to grow, and as it is reddish, he has now got a beard which looks like gold. He is very accomplished; a good musician; composes well; is a most capital horseman; a fine jouster; speaks good French, Latin, and Spanish; is very religious; hears three masses daily when he hunts, and sometimes five on other days: he hears the *office* every day in the Queen's chamber, that is to say vespers and compline. He is very fond indeed of hunting, and never takes this diversion without tiring eight or ten horses, which he causes to be stationed beforehand along the line of country he may mean to take, and when one is tired, he mounts another, and before he gets home they are all exhausted. He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture.

He gambled with the French hostages to the amount occasionally, it is said, of from six to eight thousand ducats in a day.

He is affable, gracious; harms no one; does not covet his neighbour's goods, and is satisfied with his own dominions, having often

said to the ambassador, "Domine Orator, we want all potentates to content themselves with their own territories: we are satisfied with this island of ours."

He seems extremely desirous of peace.

He is very rich indeed; according to report, his father left him ten millions of ready money in gold, of which he is supposed to have spent one half in the war against France when he took Tournai; and he certainly expended a considerable sum at that period, for he had three armies on foot; one crossed the channel with him; another was in the field against Scotland; and the third remained with the Queen as a reserve, in case the other two encountered any disaster.

His revenues amount to about 350,000 ducats annually, and are derived from estates, forests, and meres; from the customs or duties; from hereditary and confiscated property; from the Duchies of Lancaster, York, Cornwall, and Suffolk; from the County Palatine of Chester and others; from the Principality of Wales; from export duties; from the wool staple; from the Great Seal; from the annats yielded by church benefices; from the Court of Wards; and from new year's gifts; for on the first of the year it is customary for his Majesty to make presents to every body, but the value of those he receives in return greatly exceeds his own outlay.

His Majesty's expenses may be estimated at 100,000 ducats, those in ordinary having been reduced from 100,000 to 56,000; to which must be added 16,000 for salaries; 5,000 for the stable; 5,000 for the halberdiers, who have been reduced from 500 to 150; and 16,000 for the wardrobe, for he is the best dressed sovereign in the world: his robes are the richest and most superb that can be imagined; and he puts on new clothes every holiday.

CONCERNING THE PERSONAL QUALITIES OF THE QUEEN.

The Queen is the sister of the mother of the King of Spain, now styled King of the Romans. She is thirty-five years old, not handsome, but has a very beautiful complexion. She is religious, and as virtuous as words can express.[8]

The ambassador saw her but seldom.

CONCERNING THE PERSONAL QUALITIES OF THE CARDINAL OF YORK.

In a work composed by the ambassador, this prelate has been styled Orion.[9]

He is of low origin: he has two brothers, one of whom holds an untitled benefice, and the other is pushing his fortune.[10]

This Cardinal is the person who rules both the King and the entire kingdom. On the ambassador's first arrival in England, he used to say to him,—"*His Majesty will do so and so:*" subsequently, by degrees, he went forgetting himself, and commenced saying, "*We shall do so and so:*" at this present he has reached such a pitch that he says, "*I shall do so and so.*"

He is about forty-six years old, very handsome, learned, extremely eloquent, of vast ability, and indefatigable. He, alone, transacts the same business as that which occupies all the magistracies, offices, and councils of Venice, both civil and criminal; and all state affairs, likewise, are managed by him, let their nature be what it may.

He is pensive, and has the reputation of being extremely just: he favours the people exceedingly, and especially the poor; hearing their suits, and seeking to despatch them instantly; he also makes the lawyers plead gratis for all paupers.

He is in very great repute—seven times more so than if he were Pope. He has a very fine palace, where one traverses eight rooms before reaching his audience chamber, and they are all hung with tapestry, which is changed once a week. He always has a sideboard of plate worth 25,000 ducats, wherever he may be; and his silver is estimated at 150,000 ducats. In his own chamber there is always a cupboard with vessels to the amount of 30,000 ducats, this being customary with the English nobility.

He is supposed to be very rich indeed, in money, plate, and household stuff.

The archbishopric of York yields him about 14,000 ducats; the bishopric of Bath 8,000. One third of the fees derived from the great seal are his; the other two are divided between the King and the Chancellor. The Cardinal's share amounts to about 5,000 ducats. By the new year's gifts, which he receives in like manner as the King, he makes some 15,000 ducats.

Bath is that see which belonged to Cardinal Adrian, for whom, when the Signory desired the ambassador to intercede, Cardinal Wolsey was so incensed that he would not hear of any terms, but became pacified at last, through the exertions of the ambassador; and whereas, at the commencement, he used to lavish all possible abuse on Venice, he now extols her to the skies; lauding the extreme justice of the Signory, and

says that thereby, and from merely observing the good order maintained in her towns, a wayfarer arriving in them would at once become aware that he must be in the Venetian territories, even if he knew not exactly where he was.

Cardinal Wolsey is very anxious for the Signory to send him one hundred Damascene carpets, for which he has asked several times, and expected to receive them by the last galleys.[11] The ambassador urged the Senate to make this present, as even should the Signory itself not choose to incur the expense, the slightest hint to the London factory would induce that body to take it on themselves; and this gift might easily settle the affair of the wines of Candia; that is to say, induce the repeal of the duties on sack[12] imported by Venetian subjects. The ambassador, on his departure, left the business in a fair way, and consigned all the documents concerning it to his successor; but to discuss the matter farther, until the Cardinal receives his hundred carpets, would be idle. This present might make him pass a decree in our favour, and, at any rate, it would render the Cardinal friendly to our nation in other matters; for no one obtains audience from him unless at the third or fourth attempt. As he adopts this fashion with all the lords and barons of England, the ambassador made light of it, and at length had recourse to the expedient of making an appointment through his secretary, who sometimes went six or seven times to York House before he could speak to the Cardinal.

It is the custom for the ambassadors, when they go to the court, to dine there, and on his first arrival in England, they ate at the Cardinal's table, but now no one is served with the viands of the sort presented to the Cardinal, until after their removal from before him.

There are about twenty-one other archbishoprics and bishoprics, and some 180 abbacies of the orders of Saint Benedict and Bernard, that is to say Cistercians; and one single tenth from these abbacies yields the King 70,000 ducats.

CONCERNING THE CONDITION OF THE OTHER LORDS TEMPORAL.

That there were three Dukes, one Marquis, and twelve Earls.

First of all there was the Duke of Buckingham, who had a rental of about 30,000 ducats, and was extremely popular; and it is thought that, were the King to die without heirs male, he might easily obtain the crown.[13]

The Duke of Norfolk, whose rental amounts to 12,000 ducats, has likewise some hopes of the crown, and is very intimate with the Cardinal.

The Duke of Suffolk has a rental of 12,000 ducats, and his wife is the King's sister, and widow of the late King Louis of France. He also has great hopes of the crown, in right of his wife.

Of the other peers he said little.

His Majesty made believe, especially to the French hostages, that he greatly regretted that King Francis should not have been elected King of the Romans; it is thought, however, that intrinsically he was in favour of Spain, though most anxious for a third person to be elected instead of either one or the other. On account of this election, his Majesty accredited the Cardinal's chief secretary, Dom. Richard Pace, who is also Lord Chancellor, and appears very devoted to the Signory: when returning towards Venice the ambassador met him at Dover, coming back from Germany,[14] when he mentioned several particulars concerning the election; amongst the rest, that for half a day the Duke of Saxony had been elected King of the Romans: that when the Marquis of Brandenburg was nominated, his own brother, the Archbishop of Mayence, rejected him, for love of the King of France; and finally, the Catholic King was elected King of the Romans, *consensu omnium*.

The Queen of England being a Spaniard, evinces satisfaction at the success of her nephew.

CONCERNING THE MILITARY.

In England they don't make use of men-at-arms, so that they could not raise a hundred in the whole island, and even their light cavalry would not exceed 1,000; the real military force of the country consisting in its infantry, which is supposed to amount to 150,000 men, whose peculiar weapon is the long bow. When they take the field, their arms consist of a breast-plate, bow, arrows, sword, and two stakes—one before and one behind—with which they make their pallisadoes, or stockade; but all their prowess is in the bow. They insist on being paid monthly, nor do they choose to suffer any hardship; but when they have their comforts,[15] they will then do battle daily, with a courage, vigour, and valour, that defy exaggeration.

The Ambassador then proceeded to eulogize the most Serene Doge, alluding to certain English pilgrims who had come hither to take passage for Jerusalem, at Ascension-tide, when they were present at the banquet given by his Serenity,[16] who greeted them so lovingly, that they

said they should remember it for ever, and they extolled his Serenity on every possible occasion.

He also praised the most noble Messer Andrea Griti for the renown he enjoyed amongst the nobility of England; lauding, moreover, his predecessor, the Magnifico Messer Andrea Badoer.

He then alluded to the foreign ambassadors in England during his residence there, and amongst the rest, to one from Spain, who bore this state the worst possible will. He mentioned Mons. de Reus, in like manner ambassador from my Lady Margaret, who, having been prisoner here in Venice, evinced very great hatred to the Signory on account of the mal-treatment he experienced, and the only exception he made was in favour of Messer Gio. Antonio Dandolo, to whom he expressed himself much obliged for his kindness.

He next spoke in praise of the merchants of Venice, established in London, and first of all of Dom. Girolamo da Molin, congratulating his uncle, Messer Alvise, about him, saying that even the King himself was fond of him, and called him . . . .

He then mentioned Dom. Lorenzo Pasqualigo, the brother of Messer Luigi, praising him for having made a very large fortune; and he subsequently lauded Dom. Nicolo Duodo who manages the affairs of the Pisani and others, styling him a most upright and sufficient man, and saying that he had property of his own to the amount of 30,000 ducats.

He moreover lauded that luckless Alberto Bavarino, who, although now stricken by this present catastrophe,[17] enjoys so high a character in England, that when differences arise there, the disputants make him their referee, and abide by his decision, so thoroughly just and worthy a person do they deem him.

He also spoke favourably of ——, likewise a Venetian who has resided for many years in those parts, having in like manner accumulated a very fair capital.

Besides this, he said that the King was always a heavy creditor of the Florentine merchants, to whom he lends money in order that they may extend their trade; and they sometimes owe him as much as 300,000 ducats, by which means his Majesty benefits his favourites in the following manner: he empowers them to collect his credits, and they compromise with the debtors, who allow them a certain amount of interest until they have the means of repaying the King, by which method these traders obtain funds at a fair rate, and the King is enabled to benefit his servants without any loss of capital.[18]

On leaving England, the magnifico the ambassador went to the French court, where he remained a few days and received a hearty welcome from King Francis, who chose to hear all the English news, as much in detail as possible, especially with regard to the intention of the King of England about maintaining the peace; to which the ambassador made answer that not only did his Majesty mean to keep it, but would moreover wage war with all his might on whoever should be the first to violate it; for the preservation of which peace, the ambassador affirmed that King Henry, and yet more the Cardinal of York, who considered himself its first promoter and author, were so careful, that it is continually on their lips; which assurances very much gratified the King of France.

His Most Christian Majesty proceeded in the next place to catechize the ambassador, item per item, about the King personally, whom in every point his magnificence extolled to the utmost. Subsequently, when King Francis asked what sort of a statesman King Henry made, the ambassador avoided giving any answer, for to bestow praise on this score was impossible, whilst to blame appeared to him unbecoming; but after a while, having remained a long time with his Majesty, who questioned him repeatedly on the subject, being unable to do otherwise, he at length said that King Henry devoted himself to pleasure and solace, and left the cares of state to the Cardinal; whereupon King Francis rejoined, "By my faith, the Cardinal must bear his King light good will, for it is not the office of a good servant to filch his master's honour."

When talking with the duchess-mother (Louise of Savoy) about the age of the King of England, she told the ambassdor that he was four years older than her son, and that the King of France was twenty-five, so the King of England is consequently twenty-nine.

The ambassador then said that the King and the Duchess his mother were more unpopular all over France than words could express. The Duchess is supposed to have invested much capital throughout the country, and is intent on hoarding, for the purpose, it is said, of aiding the King in the event of any sudden need: besides the other revenues appointed her, she has moreover received the 100,000 ducats which the Catholic King is bound to pay the King of France annually for the kingdom of Naples.

The Queen of France is so universally loved, that it is impossible to describe or imagine greater affection.

Besides the other demonstrations made by the King of France to the ambassador, he chose to show him his sons, namely the most illustrious the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans; talking to him, moreover, about the union and love which he professes, and shall always maintain with our Signory, he and all his heirs; and assuring him by the mouth of the Magnifico Messer Antonio Giustinian, that, should the alliance between France and Venice ever be doomed to dissolution, he was of opinion that it would be our fault rather than hers.

The ambassador than praised his colleague, the aforesaid Magnifico Messer Antonio Giustinian, *toto cordis affectu*, bestowing on him as much commendation, extolling his various merits, and speaking of him with all possible affection.

On quitting Paris, Messer Sebastian Giustinian proceeded to Milan, where he lodged in the house of the secretary Caroldo, whom he also praised. He then went on to Brescia, and mentioned the great honours and ovations of which he was the object;[19] and that many persons wanted to make him presents, but that he only accepted one, which was offered on behalf of the municipality.

Concerning Crema, he said that a small sum of money would suffice for the completion of certain walls.

In conclusion, he praised his secretary Nicolo Sagudino, for his very great fidelity, and for the extreme affection and love which he bore the state; he said that he had no vice, did not gamble, and was generally moral in his conduct;[20] that he dressed modestly and respectably; and with regard to his learning, he said he had acquired as fine and elegant a style as that of his grandfather.[21]

Post omnia, the ambassador mentioned the chain, worth about 100*l.*, received from the King of England, which he requested as a gift from the Signory, beseeching, almost on his knees, that it might be conceded him as a present.

BENE DIXIT SED NON BENE PERSUASIT.[22]

[1] The ambassador is here alluding to the post of councillor, bestowed on himself, and to that of "*Sage for the orders*," which had been conferred on his son Marino, whose estimate of English valour is recorded in vol. i. p. 30.

[2] The presence at the French Court of Ambassadors of the Archduke Charles Prince of Castille, has been mentioned at p. 50, vol. i. Some of the letters written by them on this occasion may be read in the correspondence of the Cæsars, published at Leipzig, A.D. 1844, by Dr. Karl Lanz.

[3] The false assertion concerning the passage of Giustinian's colleague, Pietro Pasqualigo, into Flanders, is inexplicable, and would stamp this report as apocry-

phal, were it not redeemed by other particulars, the truth of which is in many instances very impressive. As seen in the despatches, Pietro Pasqualigo was in England from the 11th of April 1515, until the following 4th of May.

[4] Piero Pasqualigo asserts most distinctly (see vol. i. p. 86) that on St. George's Day, 1515, Henry VIII. wore the garter on his left shoulder; and as he also says that the mantle was girt in front, it might be inferred that the hose were invisible. Polydore Virgil (whose account of the insignia of the garter has hitherto been considered the most ancient of any, as it dates apparently from the year 1505) certainly says that this ensign "had a buckle of gold at the end, wherewith to fasten it about the leg." Sebastian Giustinian now confirms this assertion, and the reader must decide for himself concerning the value of these three contemporary authorities.

[5] See vol. i. p. 203, 206, 211.

[6] See vol. ii. p. 161; date, 28th February 1518.

[7] See vol. ii. p. 177.

[8] In the original, "Religiosa et honoratissima quanto dir si puo."

[9] Concerning this work, no record exists in Angelo Zeno's catalogue of noble Venetian authors, nor is it to be found either in print or manuscript in St. Mark's library. The loss of a sketch of Cardinal Wolsey by the hand of one who had known him well, is much to be regretted, but the London letters of Sebastian Giustinian compensate in some degree for this biographical disaster.

[10] In the printed lives of Cardinal Wolsey, his brothers do not figure. The phrase which I have rendered by "*pushing his fortune*," stands in the original thus, "*L'altro vuoga il batto*," literally, "*rows the boat.*"

[11] See vol. ii. p. 198, 199, 241.

[12] As stated in vol. i., p. 100, the term "*sack*," or "*sakke*," is met with for the first time in the English language, A.D. 1532.

In vol ii., p. 47, an act of Parliament has been quoted, showing that in the year 1483, the butt of Malmsey was bound to contain 126 gallons.

The merchants of Venice established in London, to avoid all penalties in this matter, seem thenceforth to have sold their wines both wholesale and retail, whether from Candia, Malvasia, Cyprus, Tyre, or Spain, by the measure (in use to this day among the Venetian vintners) called SECCHIA, *alias* bucket, and this was most probably the root of SAKKE: unless it can be shown that the word existed before the reign of Richard III., in which case, as supposed by some persons, the term might be derived from SECCO, dry.

The double consonant both in "*secchia*" and "*secco*" would make it appear that "*sakke*" is the most correct mode of spelling this word.

In connection with the commerce of Venice, it may be well to give in this place the entire text of the document mentioned in a note at page 184, vol. ii., of this work, and only partially quoted there. The document has been transcribed from page 136 of a MS. in the archives of Venice, entitled "*Libro d'oro: sive Raccolta Leggi.*" A.D. 1232 to 1282:—

"Massarii monetæ grossæ, quod reddant Argentu de STERLIN.

"M.CCLXXIV Die IX Octobris, in M.C. (*i. e.* Maggior Consiglio, Grand Council.) "Capta fuit pars, quod addatur in capitulari massariorum de moneta grossa, quod sicut reddebant Argentum de STERLIN projectum in virga mercatoribus pro solidis quinque: sic teneantur reddere pro solidis quinque; et si Consilium est contra, vel aliud capitulum sui capitularis, quantum in hoc, sit revocatum."

In virtue of this edict, the merchant of Venice took his silver to the ZECCA, and on paying a fee of 5*d.* per lb., had it amalgamated to the standard of the Easterlings, by the assayers of the State, whose mint enjoyed such repute with the Han-

seatic Confederation, that lingots marked with the STERLO-VENETIAN stamp were as rarely tested as bars cast at Lubeck.

The sterling standard gave law during several centuries to the "moneyed interest" of a great part of Germany and to Great Britain, and yet remains a proud voucher for the good faith of the Hanseatic merchants, their very name being thus synonymous with probity; and though we may not claim the word as our own, England has at least shown that she appreciates it. Much of evil and good report lurks in the circulating medium of nations, as seen by the repute which the Venetian sequin enjoys to this day in the East, proclaiming thus the honesty of its sponsors, in like manner as in the West the £ of the Easterlings does them similar service. England also, is indebted to a company of merchants, and not to any royal mint, for her purest coin, the guinea, and they have in some measure redeemed the stigma cast upon the nation, through the base money issued in 1544 by King Henry VIII.

[13] Edward Stafford, the "*poor Edward Bohun*," of Shakspeare. Concerning his arrest on the 15th of April 1521, and execution on the 17th of the following month, there are many details in the despatches of Sebastian Giustinian's successor at the Court of Henry VIII. The ambassador confirms the propriety of the stage directions given by Shakespeare for the performance of King Henry VIII. (Act ii. scene 1.), for he says that the Duke was taken from the Tower to Westminster by water, *preceded by the axe with the edge towards him*; and the ambassador's secretary in a letter to his brother dated from London on the day of the execution, mentions that it was effected with a *woodman's batchet, una scure da sinder legne.*

[14] This meeting between Sebastian Giustinian and "one Dr. Pace," took place at Dover between the 29th of August and the 6th of September 1519, the ambassador having been detained there all that time by stormy weather. The fact is mentioned by him in a letter to the State, dated Melun, 17th September, and in the MS. diaries of Marin Sanuto, there are many details of the electioneering gossip talked on this occasion by these two correspondents of Erasmus.

[15] The word which I have translated by "*comforts*," stands in the original "*commodita.*" Some seventy years after the date of this report, namely in 1590, which is the period assigned to the first representation of the First Part of King Henry VI., the Duke of Alençon, is made to say of the famished English, under Orleans—

> "They want their porridge, and their fat bull beeves:
> Either they must be dieted like mules,
> And have their provender tied to their mouths,
> Or piteous they will look, like drowned mice."

Both Sebastian Giustinian and the author of the first Part of King Henry VI. (which the commentators have struck off from the list of Shakspeare's genuine plays), might have been informed by such of their contemporaries as cared to do justice to the endurance, as well as to the valour of the English, that on the 25th of October 1415, they gained the battle of Agincourt on very empty stomachs.

[16] It was on the day of the Ascension that the Doge went in state in the Bucintor to wed the Adriatic, and on his return from this ceremony he gave a banquet. The Venetian galleys which conveyed pilgrims to Joppa and Beyroot, used to take their departure immediately after the Ascension, and thus the English devotees here alluded to by the Ambassador Giustinian, combined a little sight-seeing with their penance, contriving, as Wolcot would have said, to *boil their peas.*

[17] Bavarino was a Venetian plebeian established in London, and the catastrophe implies that he had failed. The character here given of him corresponds with

that of the humane and unfortunate "Friskiball," in the tragedy entitled "The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell," and as any historical fact, however trifling, which at all confirms any incidents recorded in English plays composed by Shakspeare and his fellow playwrights, serves to prove their truthfulness, the reverses and fair fame of Alberto Bavarino are worth recording, because they remind us of the scenic sorrows of a merchant, his contemporary, and prove the value attached to a high character on the mart of London, in the year 1519.

[18] From this it would appear that Henry VIII. did not condescend to receive interest himself for such sums as he lent to Master Friskiball and his fellow traders, who were, however, liable to pay a bonus at any moment when the King felt inclined to reward his favorites at no personal cost.

[19] The inhabitants of Brescia made these demonstrations to mark their recollection of the manner in which they had been governed by Sebastian Giustinian before the League of Cambrai. The command held by him at Brescia in 1509, has been alluded to in vol. i. p. 19.

[20] Ch' egli non era vicioso, nè di guioco, nè di luxuria salvochè qualche volta.

[21] The grandfather of Nicolo Sagudino composed a Latin version of some of the treatises of Xenophon; and a contemporary manuscript copy of this work which had belonged to Marin Sanuto, and bore his autograph on its first page, was purchased by the booksellers Payne and Foss, of the antiquary Signor S. Quirico, in Venice, A.D. 1839.

[22] This comment on the last page of the Sagredo copy of the Giustinian "Report" of England, does not mean that the Senate doubted any of the facts alleged by the ambassador, but, that he could not persuade those "potent, grave, and reverend signiors" to let him keep his chain. The reason was, that the Venetian treasury was now at a very low ebb, and all the presents made by foreign sovereigns to the diplomatists of Venice were by law surrendered to the State; a policy which was subsequently adopted by the East India Company with regard to its servants at the courts of the native princes. The outlay incurred by Venice for presents at the period described in these volumes, was enormous, and the money which reached the coffers of the State through the sale of those made to the ambassadors, was far from sufficing for the return of these compliments.

The presents intended for Maria Tudor have been alluded to in vol. i. p. 44 and 54, but it is not known in what they consisted.

A taste for Turkey carpets does not seem to have been peculiar to Cardinal Wolsey; for after the recovery of Verona, Monsieur de Lautrec received some from the Venetians, as also a picture by Titian, of which the following note exists in the 24th volume of Marin Sanuto's MS. Diaries, p. 267, dated May 27, A.D. 1517.

Certain purchases were made for the present which is being sent to Milan to Mons. de Lautrec. It is worth 8,000 ducats, and will be conveyed on eight mules, by Lucha Busato, the attendant of Messer Andrea Griti.

This present consists, in the first place, of a balass ruby, weighing 153 carats, purchased for 3,100 ducats. Item—Two massive gold basins. Item—Very handsome Damascene carpets. Item—Table covers. Item—Perfumes and scents to a great amount. Item—The picture painted by the hand of Titian, representing St. Michael between St. George and St. Theodore, now in the Doge's palace, and this removal is not approved of.

Presents of jewels are also destined for the Lord Steward (Gouffier de Boissi), for the Lord Chancellor (Duprat), and for the Magnifico Robertet, in France; and the entire value of all these presents amounts to 30,000 ducats.

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